For A Rising Scale Of Wages

# THE MILITANT

*Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL*

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*On The War Fronts*

## U. S. War Entry May Start With Martinique

### Vichy's Moves May Hasten Roosevelt's Plan To Take Over The French Colony

Roosevelt and Churchill suffered a serious diplomatic reverse when the Vichy government moved towards closer "collaboration" with Hitler. The real extent of the collaboration has not yet been revealed. It can be assumed, however, that Hitler's pressure has succeeded in completely tying Vichy to his "new order".

What motivated the Vichy rulers in taking a step which they knew would surely bring them into collision with British and American imperialism? It is quite true that these people are all in favor of fascism, but prior to the French defeat they were perfectly willing to line up with Britain and the United States. Besides the pressure of Hitler, the only valid explanation is that the French ruling class is convinced that Hitler will come out victorious and that it therefore must look to him in order to save some part of its empire.

**Another important factor in the calculations of the Vichy people is the feeling that they can best keep the French workers in subjection with the help of Hitler.**

An immediate result of the agreement was the granting of permission for Nazi planes to land in Syria on the way to help the Iraq government fighting against British armies. The British did not hesitate to bomb the Syrian airfields and the probability of a real struggle between French and British forces is becoming ever more serious.

THE HEMISPHERE MOVES

Another result was the appeal of Roosevelt to the French people not to follow their government in the policy of collaboration with Hitler. The administration here is worried most of all by the danger of Hitler's gaining control of the French possessions in the Western Hemisphere and of Dakar in French West Africa, a port that is only about 1800 miles from Brazil.

**The champions of democracy are now talking about seizing Martinique, the Azores, Dakar —all of course for the purpose of saving democracy in South America. The Western Hemisphere has now moved to Africa.**

We have not heard any suggestions from any of the democrats that the people of Dakar and Martinique be given a chance for their complete independence.

The Vichy government, that is, Hitler, threatens to oppose with force any attempt to seize part of its Empire. The democratic imperialists are thus faced with the dilemma of not seizing French possessions and run the danger of having Hitler gain control of them, or else seizing them and having Vichy join Hitler and add considerably to his strength.

**Indications are that Roosevelt will not hesitate to act if he thinks that action is necessary. In all probability Martinique will be seized first because he will have less opposition to such a move. This would probably be as good a way as any to get into the actual fighting. The problem for Roosevelt is to start the fighting under circumstances where there will be least opposition. It is best for his purposes to start in the Western Hemisphere or against Japan.**

"FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

Once more the American people will be exhorted to guard the freedom of the seas. Many presidents before Roosevelt used that slogan for the purpose of justifying a war and there is no reason why Roosevelt should not take it out of the closet where it was placed by the neutrality law of 1939. By that law American ships had been barred from entering any zone named by the President as an area of war.

Last month the White House decreed that the Red Sea was no longer a combat zone and American ships were free to go there. Hitler replied to that decision by a statement that the Red Sea must be considered a war zone and that American ships would be in danger of destruction.

Roosevelt stood by his guns and brought out the doctrine of freedom of the seas. Naturally we do not expect that this doctrine will displace the fight-for-democracy idea. Roosevelt isn't foolish enough to expect that the American workers would be willing to go to war for the freedom of the seas. Fighting for democracy will remain the slogan which will be used to get the American workers to support the imperialist war.

IRAQ FIGHT CONTINUES

It has not proved such an easy task for the British to suppress the revolt of the Iraquians.

**The British imperialists have stored up such hatred for their rule, that the idea of utilizing Nazi aid to defeat the British imperialist army is accepted with equanimity by the Arabs, who feel that their main enemy is the enemy that has been actually oppressing them and not the one that might oppress them later.**

Naturally the German imperialists are very anxious to lay their hands on Iraq which contains immense oil resources. The struggle between the two imperialist forces in the Near and Middle East and in North Africa will indeed be a savage one. Control of the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the oil wells in Iraq, are all involved. In this struggle the Nazis are at an advantage because they can pose for the moment as liberators of the Arabs from British oppression.

STALIN FEARS FUTURE

And from behind the walls of the Kremlin, Stalin looks upon this struggle with fear and trepidation. For Hitler may be victorious, and this will mean that Turkey will come under Nazi control and Nazi troops will be stationed on the southern border of the Soviet Union just as they are stationed on its western border.

**Stalin, so anxious to avoid war, will go far to come to some agreement with Hitler—who is perfectly willing to accept an agreement fortified by the knowledge that he can break it at any time he deems it to be convenient. Why shouldn't Hitler give Stalin an outlet to the Indian Ocean in return for a free hand in the Middle and Near East? He who gives can also take away—at least in this case.**

The World War moves on. No sooner has it devasted one land than some other land is sucked into the maelstrom. The titanic struggle between imperialists leaves no country untouched. The masses all over the world must suffer the consequences. It is not their struggle, but it is their agony.

## Frisco Shipyard Strikers

**Strikers and union sympathizers are seen massed before the Bethlehem Steel shipbuilding plant, key shipyard of 11 San Francisco yards which have been closed down by a joint strike of 1200 AFL and 900 CIO machinists. The strikers have turned thumbs down on a government-sponsored "master contract" which attempts to "freeze" wages in the West Coast shipbuilding industry at below prevailing rates.**

## Government Attacks Frisco Shipyard Strikers

### Government Officials Take Lead In Attempts To Force Workers To Abide By Phony Agreement Which Strikers Had Rejected

SAN FRANCISCO, May 18—The ten day-old machinist strike in eleven Bay Area shipyards is being assaulted by an unholy alliance of government, bosses and the AFL top leaders.

The next few days will tell the story. If Governor Olson fails to cajole the machinists back to work at a big mass meeting scheduled Wednesday at the Civic Auditorium, an all-out blitzkrieg will probably be made by local, state and federal cops and the U.S. Navy to smash the picket line, break the strike and force the machinists back to work.

1800 machinists, members of Lodge 68 of the AFL International Ass'n of Machinists in San Francisco, and of CIO Machinists Local 1304 in Oakland, are striking for an increase of hourly pay and for maintenance of double time pay for overtime. Their strike action is unofficially being supported by 20,000 other shipyard workers who have respected the picket lines.

The strike has provoked some of the wildest accusations and most brazen threats made against a group of workers even in these days when such accusations and threats are cheap and plentiful. The machinists are charged by local and national government and union big-shots with carrying on an "outlaw" action in "violation of the agreement."

THE REAL STORY

What, however, are the facts?

About a month ago, John Frey, National Secretary of the Metal Trades Council, and other AFL leaders negotiated behind closed doors a Pacific Coast "Stabilization" agreement and then in their usual high-handed fashion proceeded to sign it and ram it down the throats of the rank and file of the 17 craft unions involved. Al Wynn, Secretary of the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, laid down the law at the time with the statement: "All unions **must** accept the Coastwise decision rung up in Seattle."

**Machinists locals here, in Richmond and in Seattle, however, resting on their autonomous rights, voted down the agreement and refused to be bound by its provisions.**

The so-called master contract grants a twelve cents an hour increase in pay but abolishes double-time pay for overtime in favor of time and one half. The agreement is to remain in effect for the "duration of the national emergency" in which time the union promises there shall be no strikes.

**The machinists had not signed the agreement, their rank and file had voted it down, and were therefore in no way bound by its provisions. Only labor skates like "Colonel" Frey and Green could accuse them of violating the "no strike" provisions of an agreement they had no part in making and were in no way bound to observe.**

GOVERNOR ADMITS FACTS

Even Governor Olson was forced to admit indirectly the

(Continued on Page 3)

## Trotskyists Get 1,352 Votes In Newark Poll

NEWARK, N. J.—In the bitterly-contested city election here last week, 1352 votes were cast for George Breitman, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and his platform which stressed the necessity of forming a labor party. This was slightly more than 1% of the entire vote recorded.

The other candidate endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, William E. Bohannan, Negro trade unionist, whose slogan was "Make Newark a 100% Union Town," got a total of 1338 votes.

The last minute efforts of the Ellenstein administration to pose the issue, as "the common people vs. the vested interests" did not save the day for him.

As Breitman had pointed out again and again, the failure of the so-called friends of labor in City Hall to propose a tax program which would relieve the burden on the small taxpayer, at the same time that it provided the necessary appropriations for relief, schools, hospitalization, etc., drove the middle class voters into the hands of the big business Byrne ticket which was able to disclaim responsibility for the tax rate and to make all kinds of promises about lowering the city budget.

As a result, Ellenstein and Co. were unable even to get their usual vote among the Jewish home-owners.

It is interesting to note the results of the vote cast for Lawrence Mahan, candidate of the Communist Party. He received 1398 votes, or 46 more than the Trotskyist candidate.

While neither of these votes will strike the uninformed reader as being very significant, those who are acquainted with the strength of the two parties and their activities over a period of many years, found the closeness of the vote an important indication of the trend away from the Communist Party.

**For while Mahan received a higher total vote, Breitman easily surpassed him in the WORKING CLASS districts.**

In the important Third Ward, where the bulk of colored workers live, and where the Communist Party has been concentrating much of its activity for over 15 years, Breitman received 193 votes, Mahan 169.

In the entire Ironbound proletarian district, where our party has been working for a short time as compared to the Stalinists, they received a total of 133 to Breitman's 131.

In the 7th (predominantly Negro) and in the 1st (chiefly Italian workers), Breitman also succeeded in getting a majority over Mahan.

In fact, if it had not been for the predominantly middle and upper class wards, the 9th and 16th, where the Stalinists received 88 votes more than Breitman, they would have received a smaller total vote than he did.

Through a technicality, a large number of the soldiers' votes were not counted. The highest number cast for any candidate was 153. Breitman received 10 soldier votes.

# Strike Wins Raise At General Motors

### 40,000 Strikers in Flint, Detroit and Saginaw Force Company To Yield 10-Cent Hourly Raise; Leaders Tried To Stop Strike

FLINT, Mich., May 17—Forty thousand General Motors workers here and in Detroit conducted a forty-hour strike and in that short time the corporation, which had stalled and given nothing for twelve weeks of negotiations, was forced to grant a ten-cent blanket wage increase to the UAW-CIO.

The workers didn't get everything they could have won. The strike was bitterly opposed by their own top leadership—R. J. Thomas, Reuther, Addes and the whole UAW executive board. But it was proved by this strike that in the UAW-CIO the tail does not always wag the dog.

The strike deadline had been set for Thursday morning at 7 A. M. at a GM conference of union officers and shop chairmen held in Detroit Sunday, May 12. The May 15 deadline was publicly announced and all locals prepared for action.

But at a meeting held at 5 A.M. deadline, UAW President Thomas telegraphed all GM locals to postpone the strike for another 24 hours. The National Defense Mediation Board had made a proposal for an agreement which the union officials had agreed to. The 24 hour truce was ordered by Thomas "to give the company time to decide whether to accept the agreement."

STRIKE STARTS ANYWAY

But at meeting held at 5 A. M. Thursday morning, two hours before the deadline agreed to at the Detroit conference, the Buick Fisher Body and Chevrolet locals in Flint refused to allow the corporation to stall any longer, disregarded Thomas's plea for a postponement, and at 7 A. M. huge picket lines paraded around the great Flint plants and the strike was 100% effective.

**The Flint workers decided that the only language that GM understands is strike. Their "leaders" had crumbled under the pressure of the government to delay the strike, but the GM workers in Flint were made of stronger stuff.**

STRIKE SPREADS QUICKLY

No sooner did the strike break than word spread to Detroit. The militant Fleetwood local went down, and as a result the Cadillac plant closed.

A few hours later the Foundry in Saginaw also struck. Pontiac Yellow Coach was shut down soon after for lack of materials.

**All in all, over forty thousand GM workers defied the National Mediation Board and their own International officers.**

**And this was the kind of language GM understood. Only a few hours after the strike started, it was announced that GM had accepted the formula of the Mediation Board and would grant a ten-cent general wage increase to GM's 160,000 CIO workers.**

"LEADERS" DISAVOW STRIKE

As soon as the strike broke, R. J. Thomas and George Addes made public statements calling off the strike and demanding the workers go back to work. Their orders fell upon deaf ears.

When the time for the 3:30 shift came, the picket lines were bigger than ever.

Addes and Thomas then hopped into an army plane and headed for Flint.

Newspapers spread banners across their front pages announcing that UAW President Thomas had called off the strike which was due to "a misunderstanding." But picketing went on.

**At the huge Buick plant the 14,000 workers, who had never been on strike before, organized the biggest picket lines. Ten thousand men at least paraded around the 12-block plant,**

(Continued on Page 3)

## Another Lynching In Roosevelt's Own Party's Stronghold

**The Democratic poll-tax South has on its records another lynching—that of a 22-year old Negro youth, A.C. Williams, at Quincey, Florida, May 15.**

**Williams was taken from the Glasden County jail, where he had been locked up charged with an "attempted" attack on a white girl, and was shot eight or ten times by a gang of white men. He was still alive when found by local authorities, who took him back to jail, and then shipped him in an ambulance to another town, 25 miles away.**

**The ambulance was stopped en route by a group of white men. Williams was removed, and this time the lynch mob made sure he was dead before they left.**

**As usual, the local authorities have made no attempt to discover and apprehend the murderers.**

**This is just another example of the "democracy" Roosevelt is asking the Negro people to help defend against Hitler. Roosevelt has not lifted a finger to put a stop to such outrages by federal legislation.**

## Minneapolis Labor Slate Places In Primaries

### Labor's Mayoralty Candidate Leads Field; His Prospects For Election Are Good

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The entire labor slate put up in the May 12th city primaries by the Central Labor Union won places on the ballot and in most cases the labor candidates led the field by substantial margins.

T. A. Eide, labor candidate for mayor, polled 34,522 votes as against 32,522 for his Republican opponent, Marvin Kline. Leach, the Republican incumbent polled only 26,000, failing to place.

The empty shell of the Farmer-Labor Party, captured by the Stalinists, made the worst showing in twenty years. Al Hansen, the FLP candidate for mayor, polled only 6,157 votes. Not a single one of the FLP candidates made the ballot.

The Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party issued a campaign leaflet, calling on all workers to support the complete slate of labor candidates nominated by the Central Labor Union.

LABOR'S PLATFORM

The platform upon which the labor candidates are campaigning expresses "unalterable opposition to war"; the determination to uphold all civil liberties and workers' rights; to maintain and extend the public educational system; calls for municipal housing and public works programs, for public ownership of all utilities; for free health, hospital and neighborhood clinical service; for continued support to the unemployed, etc.

While applauding the strong anti-war, pro-labor content of the platform, our party pointed out its weaknesses — that it contains no basic analysis of war and fascism, and advances no clear-cut directives to help the workers fight war and fascism. We presented the proletarian military program of our party, and advocated that the Central Labor Un-

(Continued on Page 4)

## Soldiers Punished For Petition To Roosevelt

EDITOR:

Usually there is very little talk about the war in the camps, you know. This may seem strange to you, but actually it isn't, because as a rule the boys don't say out loud what they really think. There are always some snitchers around, who would be glad to get in good with the officers by reporting someone's remarks that could be interpreted as "radical."

That's one reason why most of the talk is about baseball and sports and women and work.

But out here some of the fellows got together and drew up a petition to the president of the United States. It called on him to oppose entry of the country "into foreign wars." I don't know how many people signed it, but there were quite a few anyhow, I think, before they mailed it off and sat back to await a reply.

I am not going to discuss my opinion about the misconceptions in the soldiers' minds about "foreign wars." It obviously demonstrated an anti-war sentiment, even if badly confused.

Well, the boys never got a letter from the president, but they did get hell in camp!

Many of the boys were called before the officers and questioned. They were told they had been guilty of a breach of discipline, and what would happen to them the next time such a thing were done. All the men involved and many who probably weren't, were given a week of extra details as punishment.

Now the boys know that the officers were serious when they told us there is no such thing as democracy in the army.

Fort Riley, Kansas

A DRAFTEE

# WORKERS' FORUM

*Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.*

## *Beating of Negro By Drunken Detectives Protested by Witness*

EDITOR:

I think the enclosed copy of a letter I have just sent would be of interest to your readers and I'd appreciate it if you would reprint it. Thank you.

(Enclosure)

Friday, May 16, 1941

**Hon. Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Mayor of the City of New York, Police Commissioner Valentine, Mr. Paul Blanchard**

**Dear Sirs:**

On the morning of May 15th at 12:45 A.M. I saw two men whom I thought were drunk, leave the 45th St. Cafe and accost a woman who was walking towards Broadway on 45th St. In the vilest manner they started telling her to move on and they became very profane, while hitting her and boisterously telling her that they were city detectives. As a result of this scene about 150 to 200 people gathered.

Then these two men began to abuse the onlookers. They especially singled out one Negro youth for their brutal attentions. They kicked him, then chased him into an elevator at 125 W. 45th St., where they proceeded to beat him unmercifully for about 15 minutes with a sawed off broomhandle, calling him "nigger" and other vile names. The crowd of about 150 to 200 people gathered in the lobby of the building and outside, looking on and hearing the cries of the boy, but helpless to do anything because these two city detectives were armed.

**While this was going on I called the police who arrived a few minutes later. But when the offending detectives showed their badges and were recognized by the newly arrived policemen, they were immediately released. The crowd was dispersed by the policemen.**

I was horrified by the action of these people who are supposed to maintain law and order. Later that same morning I went to the police precint and found that no complaint had been filed in the precint, but merely that a report had been made to the effect that two white men had assaulted a Negro youth. I found also that the boy had been taken to the hospital in an ambulance called by Mr. De Mornay, his employer, who has a studio on the sixth floor at 125 W. 45th St.

**On further inquiry I found that the employer, who was also most indignant at this affair, had been threatened — "that if he did not keep quiet they would make it hard for him."**

There are many witnesses to this affair and Mr. De Mornay can furnish you with the names and addresses of them. To my knowledge the night watchman at 125 W. 45th St. and a colored porter at the same address and many other individuals in the immediate vicinity would be willing to substantiate the above.

**On further investigation I found that at about 2:30 or three o'clock of the morning of the assault, other detectives came to the employer of the boy, who was at the hospital, and tried to pacify him by telling him that the two detectives were drunk. They insisted on having from Mr. De Mornay the stick with which the boy was beaten and got it after threats and argument.**

On the afternoon of May 15th, at about 2 P.M., the detectives who administered the beating came, with another, and apologized to Mr. De Mornay and to the boy and gave the boy two dollars and asked him to forget the affair.

I personally believe that this is a most deplorable action on the part of the representatives of the police department and even more deplorable is how the matter has been treated since.

I think that as a citizen of the City of New York I have the right to demand that you, Mr. Mayor, and you Mr. Police Commissioner see that the affair be investigated and that proper action be taken.

The facts as stated above can be verified by the simple expedient of calling any of the people herein mentioned.

The name of the victim is EDWIN LARK.

The names of the detectives are HAMMOND and COSTELLO of the 18th Precinct.

The name of their superior officer who silenced the matter and came with them to see the boy is SHEEHEY, also of the 18th Pct.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the newspapers, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Colored People's Legal Aid Society and to various prominent individuals who would be interested in the affair. I protest against such treatment of a human being, be he Negro or white.

Yours truly,

J. TRUHAR

102 Avenue B, N. Y. C.

## *Draftee Disgusted At Lack of Training At Camp Edwards*

EDITOR,

A friend visited a conscript at Camp Edwards, Bourne, Mass., and learned the following facts from the draftee, a serious minded, intelligent man in his late twenties. I think they should be of interest to everyone.

The camp cost $29,000,000 and was constructed on a cost plus basis which gave plenty of opportunity for graft and corruption. The draftee said that he has seen gullies into which cement was thrown and then covered with sand.

The conscript was very much discouraged about the poor organization of the army. He had been in the army nine weeks and was still wearing his civilian shoes, as were many others. He was wearing an old campaign hat because there were not sufficient overseas caps to go around.

The first week in camp he spent shovelling sand from one truck to another. In nine weeks he has had no shooting practice and had received no individual instruction in taking apart, cleaning a rifle.

He complained bitterly about the attitude of the non-commissioned officers. They are mostly young fellows who came into the regular army from the national guard and they're not happy about it. They are out for a good time, not to learn. They don't know much about the military art and don't seem to want to know, and aren't anxious to teach others what they do know. They are more interested in dances, dates and having a good time in general. They take as much leave as they can get. As a group they are ignorant of modern warfare and arrogant in their attitude toward the conscripts. They don't set an inspiring example to the serious selectee. Camp Edwards is alive with non-coms with nothing to do. This soldier said that he was assigned to a job on which there were twenty-one draftees and nearly as many non-coms supervising them.

This draftee tells the following story: A sergeant was addressing the men: "Men," he said, "you're ready to fight right now. You could lick any army in the world. If you met a body of German soldiers they'd be dead in no time."

Said the selectee to himself: "They'd be dead all right. But they'd die from laughing when they saw us."

This soldier wasn't happy at being drafted but he made up his mind to make the best of it and become a good soldier. Now he's disgusted. It isn't that he wants to quit, he wants to learn — not waste his time.

Boston, Mass.

L. S.

# Another Allis-Chalmers Strike

Picketing the struck plant of the Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co., in La Porte, Wisconsin, where 950 members of the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) recently staged a walkout. The strike ended after the union agreed to submit the issues to the National Mediation Board.

# Soaring Prices Loom As Threat To Workers

## 25% Retail Price Rise By Fall Is Seen As Wholesale Prices Show 43% Increase Over Figures At The Beginning Of War

Government statisticians are just beginning to reveal what every worker has known for some time. Prices, since the beginning of the war in August 1939, have been climbing. Within the past two months, these increases have taken a particularly sharp spurt upward.

Over-all food prices, according to the latest figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, have increased 7.1 per cent since the start of the war. A 2.2 per cent over-all increase has occurred within the last month alone, indicating that the real rise has just begun.

Prices for clothing and house furnishings have gone up 6.6 per cent over the pre-war figure, and this does not take into account the practice of the manufacturers of concealing price increases by putting out cheaper and shoddier goods.

None of these composite figures gives the real picture of price rises as well as listing actual prices for various products that the workers buy.

A report of the Department of Markets of the City of New York, made public last Saturday, lists the followfng comparative retail prices on staple foods:

| | Prices 1940 | Prices 1941 |
|---|---|---|
| Tub butter, lb | .33 | .41 |
| Eggs, mixed B, doz | .26 | .31 |
| Eggs, white A, doz | .34 | .40 |
| Hams, smoked, lb. | .24 | .30 |
| Loins, lb. | .21 | .27 |

Prices of other food products, while higher, do not as yet show the same extent of increase as dairy and pork products.

### PRESENT PRICE RISES ARE NOTHING TO WHAT'S COMING

The figures on current prices, while indicating the trend, fail, however, to reveal the drastic rise which is forthcoming.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports a 42.6 per cent rise in the wholesale prices of 28 basic commodities since the beginning of the war.

This increase in wholesale prices has yet to be felt. It will be felt this coming summer and fall, when the merchants' present stocks are exhausted and the wage-earners go to buy goods which the merchants are purchasing now from the wholesalers.

Wholesale wheat prices are now 38.7 per cent over August 28, 1939; corn, 60.8 per cent higher; butter, 46.8; hogs, 27.3; beef, 18.9; lard, 54.0; sugar, 16.4; coffee, 42.2; cocoa, 84.0; rubber, 48.0; hides, 45.2; print cloth, 65.2; cotton, 40.6.

Translate the wholesale prices now prevailing into the retail prices for food, clothing, shoes and other necessities three to six months from now. That will give you the basis on which price experts predict that the average level of prices for retail commodities will reach a level 25 per cent higher by this Fall than in August 1939.

### PROFITEERS TRY TO BLAME WORKERS AND FARMERS

The big capitalists and Wall Street speculators are trying to point the finger at labor and the farmers for these price rises and impending increases. The profiteers are trying to claim that the meager wage increases won by a couple of million industrial workers through their recent strike actions are responsible for this inflation of prices. They are also charging that the government subsidies to farmers are causing food prices to leap upward.

Disproof of the profiteers' contentions lies in the fact that the increase in industrial output has far outstripped the increase in total wages. Relative labor costs have declined in relation to production. Labor costs represent only 15 to 25 per cent of the total value of manufactured products. A 20 per cent general increase in wages, unaccompanied by any increase in production, could not add more than five per cent to the cost of production.

During the past six or seven years, the farmers got subsidies larger than now proposed. It is ridiculous to assert, therefore, that the small subsidies now being proposed would be responsible for the terrific price increases in food.

**These price rises are due to one thing only: a greed for profit on the part of manufacturers, food speculators and middle men. Reliable sources have asserted that speculators in food and raw materials have been holding back large surpluses in an effort to force prices upward.**

The workers are going to learn the real meaning of the "wage freezing" campaign of the employers and government in terms of the coming price inflation.

There is only one way to beat price inflation. And that is to compel the employers to raise wages to keep pace with rising prices.

It is not sufficient for the workers to accept fixed increases of 5 to 10 cents an hour, which are quickly cancelled out by skyrocketing prices.

**Organized labor should challenge the threat of ascending living costs by raising the demand now for a SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES THAT WILL RISE DIRECTLY WITH THE RISE IN PRICES.**

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# Rand School Head Fails In Attempt To Jail Jeffrey

NEW YORK CITY, May 19 — Ray Jeffrey, salesman for THE MILITANT, arrested May 12 on the complaint of John L. Afros, executive director of the pro-war Social Democrat's Rand School came up for trial today in Yorkville Court before Magistrate Sweeney. Despite all the lying testimony of Afros and the efforts of his Social Democratic lawyer Ashe, their case against Comrade Jeffrey fell to pieces when they were confronted by an eyewitness and the judge dismissed the case

The charge as sworn to by Afros was that our salesman "did unlawfully and with intent to provoke a breach of the peace and whereby a breach of the peace might be occasioned did at or about the hour of 8 P. M. this date (May 12), and on dates previous thereto did stand on the steps of the Rand School where the deponent is the Executive Director, and did hand out to the students as they entered, Communistic Literature, and did cause annoyance to the pupils thereby; and when deponent approached defendant and ordered him to leave the said premises, he did refuse to do so, and on this date after having been asked to desist and to leave, the defendant struck the deponent on the left ear with his clenched fist and knocked deponent's glasses to the sidewalk."

Unfortunately for Mr. Afros one of those to whom our salesman had handed out literature at the Rand School, a member of the Painters Union which was meeting there, gave up a day's pay to come to court and testify that Mr. Afros was lying on the key facts. His testimony showed that Mr. Afros had attempted physically to drive our salesman away, not from the steps but from the vicinity of the building.

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# HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

BY CARL O'SHEA

The yellow "socialist" NEW LEADER carried quite a headline May 10th on a recent pro-war Madison Square Garden meeting: "Willkie, LaGuardia Speak Together in Show of National Unity."

I don't see that national unity follows just because LaGuardia and Willkie, two boss stooges, agree that the nation should go to war.

The same paper hails the pro-war conglomeration of ex-liberals grouped in the "Union for Democratic Action" as "another manifestation of the crystallization of the kind of Socialist and social thinking which combines sound internationalism with vigorous American conception."

Before this war ends, these traitors to labor and socialism will yet be called to account by an awakened working class.

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**The RAILWAY REVIEW, newspaper of the British rail labor organizations, publishes an interesting article by J. Marchbank, head of the British National Union of Railwaymen, on the ways used by the wealthy in Britain to evade the excess profits tax.**

**"Poor relations of directors and heads of firms are taken on at exorbitant salaries, additions' are made to salaries and expenses of favored officials. Rolls Royces are bought 'on the firm,' and other charges are run up until all the excess profits are absorbed."**

**Marchbank, warning that industrial conscription is on the way for the workers of England, says that "trade union safeguards are being overthrown."**

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How a group of soldiers acted as strikebreakers to protect a few finks in a local hotel strike is told in the May 8th issue of the Rockford, Ill., LABOR NEWS.

The five soldiers, from Camp Grant, walked through the picket line at the Faust hotel. On the way out, they threw a protective cordon around the leading fink in the hotel, escorted him through the picket line, and then re-entered the hotel.

The union complained to the military police, who of course did nothing about it.

The soldiers were unquestionably egged on in their anti-labor action by officers who hate organized labor.

**If the gossip column in the New York TRADE UNION COURIER can be believed, FBI agents and photographers sent by AFL leaders in New York took pictures of all AFL workers who marched in the May Day parade.**

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From a recent release of the Wage & Hour Division of the U. S. Department of Labor, we see that David Dubinsky and Sherman Dalrymple (of the Rubber Workers Union) were members of the Special Industry Committee for Puerto Rico, recommending minimum wages for the needle and tobacco workers of the island.

The Committee "by a unanimous vote in each case" recommended minimum wages of 12½-20c. per hour for many categories of needle trades work!

* * *

**About the dirtiest and lowest propaganda job being done these days is that by Alfred Baker Lewis, ex-socialist head of the Labor Committee press bureau affiliated with the Aid to England group. Lewis in his press releases makes a big point of the fact that many anti-laborites are connected with the American First Committee. That is true. All the Aid to England group just love labor, of course. Everyone knows about these revolutionary socialists named J. P. Morgan, Henry Stimson, John D. Rockefeller, Wendell Willkie, Martin Dies, Westbrook Pegler, Frank Hague, etc., who are aiding England.**

**The truth is that if a worker lines up with either wing of American imperialism, he is lining up with the bosses. The only stand an intelligent worker can take is the working-class stand to end war by overthrowing the capitalist system that breeds war.**

Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers announce in the May ADVANCE the formation of a nation-wide "Conference on Democratic Thought and Action," — a plan by the war-mongering agents of American imperialism in the ranks of the workers to set up local groups throughout the country to meet bi-weekly and cook up ways to make Roosevelt's fake war for democracy popular with the masses.

### WEST-COAST UPSURGE

It couldn't be the Spring that has struck the West Coast cities. The way they brag about their climate, Spring must be just another date on the calendar. So it must be our nagging. Anyway, the last couple of weeks have put us well on the way — reluctantly, we admit — to a complete breakdown of our sectional patriotism.

All the way from Portland to San Diego, remittances on current and old accounts have been coming in a steady stream. And with the checks have come reports on the distribution of the paper and pledges of subscriptions.

San Diego rose to the top one day with this: "The enclosed money-order will wipe out most of our bill and will cut out about two-thirds of the bill for the F. I. I beg that my branch be respectfully reinstated as one of the happy cooperative branches."

San Francisco, after setting itself a quota of five new subs a month, informs us that they are offering a prize of a dollar's worth of Pioneer Publishers literature for the one who gets the most subs each month.

Los Angeles relays the following interesting anecdote: "At the General Motors plant, the guard always comes out and asks for eight copies of the paper. Our salesmen refuse to give him more than one. Yesterday, the Captain of the Guards came out, but he also succeeded in securing only one copy.

"A few minutes later one of the plant executives came out and demanded eight copies and attempted to help himself. Our salesmen gently but firmly prevented him from executing his plan. Then the executive made this very interesting statement: 'These are OUR Employees, and we are ENTITLED to know what they are reading.'

"'They may be YOUR employees,' but these are OUR papers. We let you have one copy. If you find it so interesting, you can pass it around inside. So long as we don't come on your property we have a right to offer these men the paper.'

"After muttering some threats, our feudal baron withdrew inside the gate and painfully watched his serfs buy our paper and begin to read it. When he saw that the men read the paper, even though he was watching, he returned to the plant in great disgust."

St. Paul writes that the comrades there are planning tag days this summer to raise money for THE MILITANT. If they do it as well as they do everything else, we'll be sitting pretty.

One of the automobile cities writes: "Here's a ten-spot as a first step toward liquidation of our old bill. With a ten-cent wage increase in GM, we will be able to get a few bucks out of our people here, who are all anxious to have a clean slate with THE MILITANT."

And even Eire (Ireland) sends word to us through a member of the Dublin Labour Party, who says: "I have been a reader of your paper and magazine for a few years now, both in Great Britain and Eire, and think it the only genuine kind to speak for the working class."

### AND THE SUBS

The April record for subs is 194; see that it is topped in May.

# Government Attacks Frisco Shipyard Strikers

(Continued from page 1)

justice of the machinists' struggle. In a statement published in the press today he said the following:

"...I find deep resentment against the assumption by the international president of the metal trades department of the AFL, in whom the machinists do not seem to have confidence, of authority to make a contract for them without their approval.

**"These machinists' unions did reject the agreement when it was presented to them, as did machinists locals from San Francisco north. A majority of the Bay Cities Metal Trades council ratified it, but the objection to it, notwithstanding that ratification, is that the machinists or other crafts are not represented in that council according to their numerical strength.**

"The need for reform in the labor organization setup to give more rank and file control, instead of a set-up in which discredited officials cannot be removed and may arbitrarily set without regard to the wishes of the rank and file, is apparent if situations like this are to be avoided."

That is stating the case correctly. A phoney agreement was rammed down the throats of shipyard workers by "discredited" officials like Frey and Co. who have "no confidence or authority" among the rank and file.

**But Olson's words turn out to be just so much soft-soap, for in the very next breath he urges the machinists to return to work and suffer the "loss of gains by submitting to the stabilization contract."**

### A DIVISION OF LABOR

Hard on the heels of Olson's gentle pleading, his conceding the justice of the argument to the machinists while urging them to make the "sacrifice" in the interest of national defense comes the threat of force and violence by others not too distantly removed from Olson. In the morning papers today news is published of a secret meeting at Hotel Whitcomb.

Behind closed hotel doors John Frey, Eli Oliver of the OPM and local labor skates conferred and are reported favoring smashing the picket lines in the event the governor's plea fails. At the same time navy officials are reported to be conferring with government and labor officials. Meanwhile the Oakland Boilermakers are reported as voting to favor going through the picket lines.

(Once the news leaked out, Frey openly announced plans to smash the picket line—Ed.)

**Olson says in gentle tones: You are right but you must return to work. The rest of the crew shakes the mailed fist: Accept Olson's plea, get back to work or else! This is nothing but a division of labor between them and Olson.**

### WAR OF NERVES

The blitzkrieg now in the offing has been prepared by a violent "war of nerves" against the machinists from the day the strike began. Here is a partial record:

MAY 10—Secretary of Navy Knox and Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission wire Al Wynn, asking him to avert strike.

Wynn says unions will stand by master agreement and ignore picket line. (The workers ignored Wynn, however, and respected the picket line).

Frey wires Wynn and the government that strike is in violation of agreement.

MAY 11—Senate Investigating Committee and Hillman's office of the OPM intervene.

John Green, President of the CIO Marine Shipbuilders Union calls the strike a violation of the master agreement. (P.S. The CIO was excluded from the negotiations that led to the agreement and did not sign it!)

MAY 12—500 San Francisco cops mobilized for strike duty.

William Green declares the strike "outlaw."

MAY 13—OPM Representative Keenan asks men to return to work. Hillman comes to San Francisco "not on strike (of course!) but in interest of OPM recruiting program."

MAY 15—Hillman: "It's up to the AFL to see that its contractual obligations are enforced."

Supplying unions to the shipyards. None of the machinists have had "contractual obligations" with Bethlehem steel, the biggest yard involved, for 22 years. Bethlehem did not sign the master agreement.)

Downtown Association (employers) wires Roosevelt: "Exercise your executive powers in immediate opening of struck plants."

MAY 16—Madam Perkins: "A selfish effort to use the national emergency as a weapon in a 22 year old quarrel between one union and one company." (That company is Bethlehem Steel—Ed). "Strike a most serious disloyalty to union principles (!) and to the program (!) of the labor movement of this country."

Madam Perkins asks the President of the Downtown Association to cooperate with Frey to make a vigorous effort to get the men back to work.

MAY 17—Acting Sec'y of Navy Forrestal wires Frey that he is "shocked" by strike. Also instructs commandant of the 12th Naval District and commanding officers of the Presidio in San Francisco to give every assistance to moves to settle the strike and "insists you use every possible measure at your command to this end."

Commandant Admiral J. W. Greenslade echoes: "I quite agree with public statements that the strike is contrary to the interests of national defense."

Senator Truman of Senate Investigating committee sends a threatening letter to the unions.

MAY 18—Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission wires Frey his complete and wholehearted support. That makes it almost unanimous. Everybody — the army, navy, the maritime commission, the employers, the Secretary of Labor, Hillman and the OPM, Bill Green—is solidly behind this phoney Kentucky colonel who poses as a labor leader—everybody but the workers he is supposed to represent!

### PRESS HELPS BOSSES

The local press is not found wanting in this "war of nerves" against the strikers.

Says the Scripps Howard paper —(News) in a front page editorial answer to a statement of E. F. Dillon, AFL Machinist business agent that the time has not yet come when workingmen can't quit their jobs individually or collectively:

"It's later than you think. The time HAS come in which working men, and management, and educators, and everybody else who cares anything at all for the America as we have known it, must think long and fearfully before they quit their jobs—individually or collectively."

The San Francisco Chronicle follows on a slightly different tack. It points out that British shipping is going to the bottom more rapidly than it can be replaced by the combined shipbuilding facilities of the Empire and the U.S. It threatens that under these conditions such strikes (as the one in the shipyards) will force passage of the Vinson Bill. It insinuates cleverly by stating that young men are being taken off their jobs and drafted into the army at $21 a month and that a few days ago "a young man who tried to strike against this call ... has gone to the penitentiary ..." The editorial winds up with the ugly slander:

**"Against that background any shipyard strike, no matter who causes it, or for whatever reason, is a victory for Adolf Hitler."**

### THE GOVERNMENT'S GAME

Why is the government so intent on breaking this strike. Because they want to lower the wage scales—and set a national precedent.

**According to Frank Fox, representing the employers in the "master contract" negotiations, the employers were ready to grant double-time pay but the government insisted that overtime be paid at only time and a half.**

It wasn't any skin off the employers' hide to concede so easily; in all likelihood they are working on a cost plus basis. Besides, the employers would far rather have the government fighting the unions directly.

**Whatever happens to the Bay Area shipyard strike, which is still far from defeated, this much is clear: government and shipyard operators are hand in glove against the unions, with the government doing the open strikebreaking.**

## Detroit Auto Strikers

Mass picket line before the main plant of the Hudson Motor Car Co., Detroit. 8,500 members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) last week went on strike at three plants of the company in support of a demand for wage increases of 15 cents an hour.

# Strike Of 40,000 Forces General Motors To Yield

## Top Leaders Look Foolish When The Strike They Tried To Stop Quickly Forces Company To Grant 10-Cent Hourly Increase

(Continued from page 1)

**blocked traffic, and celebrated as though on holiday.**

Carl Swanson, UAW Regional director in Flint, tried to find a face-saving formula to cover up the rank and file revolt, by announcing that the strike had occurred because no one had had time to receive the news of the 24 hour truce before the 7 A. M. deadline. But this was a fake.

**The Chevrolet workers, who were first to strike, knew all about the 24 hour stall. And the Buick and Fisher Body workers who walked out as soon as they heard about Chevrolet's action, also knew what the International leadership had been up to. But they lived up to the original deadline, even though their officers did not have the courage.**

### HUGE MASS MEETING

A mass meeting was set for Thursday night at 8. Addes and Thomas were expected to speak there and announce the terms of the proposed agreement, which had not yet been accepted by the company. But they were forced down by bad weather in Toledo, and from there began a wild night ride to Flint by car and bus. The job of selling the workers the idea of going back to work without an agreement was given to Carl Swanson and Leo Lamotte, International Board member, when Addes and Thomas failed to arrive.

**The meeting was huge. The IMA Athletic park was packed with all the workers it could hold, at least 15,000.**

Swanson announced that the Mediation Board had made a proposal for a settlement which was satisfactory to the International Executive Board, but not yet accepted by the company. *It had to be kept secret he said because GM would not consider it if it were made public in advance. In spite of the fact that no one knew its terms, he demanded the workers accept the back-to-work advice of the leadership.* He added however, that should GM not accept the agreement by Friday morning a strike would then be called throughout GM.

### "LEADERS" VOTED DOWN

Bill Genske, recording secretary of Fisher Local 581, made the formal motion to concur with Swanson's proposal.

He made a bad mistake.

**A revolt of the rank and file took place at that meeting which was a harbinger of the independent voice of the workers on the march. The meeting unanimously repudiated the proposal of the International Executive Board to go back to work the following morning without knowing what was in the agreement.**

Speaker after speaker took the mike, after climbing over the wall onto the speakers stand, and gave voice to the militant determination of the ranks.

**The universal note was that "we'll not go back to work blind on the word of men who have tricked us before."**

John McGill of the Buick local made a motion, after several militant speakers had attacked the proposal of Swanson and the International Executive Board, to continue the strike until an agreement was presented to the locals. His motion passed *unanimously*. Swanson then asked the assembled strikers whether they wanted to wait for Addes and Thomas to arrive.

They did not. A motion was made and passed with acclaim to adjourn.

**Leo Lamotte, it is worth mentioning, spoke in favor of the back-to-work proposal along with others. He asked the workers "not to get excited" and "have faith in your leaders." He was roundly booed by disappointed militants who thought that Lamotte, who is reported to be a Communist Party man, would take a fighting stand.**

On Friday morning the picket lines were bigger than ever despite the rain. Meetings were held at local unions at which Thomas announced the proposed agreement, by that time agreed to by the company.

The contract provided a ten-cent blanket wage increase, an increased committeeman set-up, more powers for the umpire, promotions according to seniority and other less important changes. But the steward system was not there, nor the closed shop, nor many other of the original demands which could have been won.

### WORKERS CRITICAL OF LEADERS

At these meetings there was considerable dissatisfaction. In the main it was a feeling that the leadership had acted in a disloyal manner in not calling the strike originally as promised, and in confusing issues so much after the Flint workers had struck by themselves.

Everyone recognize that the ten-cent raise was won by the strike, and was not donated to them by the mediation board as Reuther would have had the men believe.

The votes to go-back-to-work were carried by small margins in the Flint local union meetings.

At a conference of local union officers and chairmen of bargaining committees, held Sunday May 18 in Detroit, there was a vote to ratify the agreement. A few voted against ratification. There also there was a general feeling that the whole record of the GM negotiations was a bad one, that the strike and not the mediation board won the ten-cent increase, and that the failure of Reuther and Thomas to live up to their promise to call a GM-wide strike was the cause of the union's failure to get everything it wanted, although the rank and file revolt nevertheless assured a big victory.

**The strike, though of short duration, was a demonstration of the fact that the UAW cannot be controlled by the bureaucratic clique at the top.**

The militants who led the battle, are determined in the light of this experience, to send a delegation to the coming UAW convention in Buffalo which will fight for a militant program and represent the rank and file who are full of fight.

# Export Strike Continues Firm

## CIO Marine Engineers Walk Off Three More Ships; Attack Curran's Strikebreaking

The Marine Engineers (CIO) strike against the American Export Lines has been extended to three more ships, despite the strikebreaking actions of Joseph Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, another CIO affiliate, who ordered members of his union to violate the engineers' picket lines on the Jersey City docks and man the struck ships.

Throwing the lie in the teeth of Curran, who has tried to defend his strikebreaking conduct by falsely claiming that the licensed MEBA engineers were not supporting the strike, all union men, constituting the majority of the licensed engineers, walked off the Exmouth last week. A few days later all the engineers of the Exbrook and Exmoor joined the strike.

Curran, on May 1, led members of his union, which is composed of unlicensed men, through the MEBA picket line and provided a crew for the S. S. Siboney, the first ship struck on its arrival in port April 25.

### AGAINST COMPANY UNION

The strike was called against the company's attempt to force the MEBA engineers into a company union. The Siboney had formerly belonged to the Ward Line, with which the union has a contract. It was recently transferred to the American Export Line, which has consistently refused to recognize the MEBA, and which took away the MEBA delegate's pass.

The strike began on the Siboney and was then extended to the Exminster and Excelsior. All but two of the engineers on these three ships supported the strike. MEBA officials assert that most of the engineers were replaced by strikebreakers and that some of the ships, manned by Curran's men, left port shorthanded.

### CURRAN'S LIES NAILED

Curran has continued to get tangled up in lies in an attempt to justify his indefensible scab herding actions. In one and the same statement, issued by the NMU National Office, Curran first admits that the MEBA had a picket line which the NMU had originally respected and then claims that the MEBA didn't maintain a picket line.

Another statement, published in the NMU *Pilot*, May 9, claims that the NLRB has certified the company union. The MEBA, however, has produced a letter from the Second Regional Board, NLRB, which disclaims having certified the company union or having ever held an election, as Curran falsely told the NMU men in order to get them to pass the picket line.

Local 33, MEBA, which is conducting the strike, last week issued a four-page printed circular addressed to the CIO members, including the rank-and-file of the NMU, telling the full facts in the Export Line controversy and appealing to the NMU men not to go through the MEBA picket line.

In reply to Curran's claim that the MEBA had refused to consider an Export Line proposal to reinstate all striking engineers, meet with the union representatives to discuss war bonuses and support an NLRB election for the engineers, the MEBA circular states:

**"The statement that the Export Line made this offer to the MEBA is absolutely false. The Export Line refused and still refuses to meet the MEBA. It has never made any offer of any kind to the MEBA."**

The MEBA circular further points out:

"The MEBA would be foolish to agree to a National Labor Relations Board election as their delegates have no pass to contact the engineers and the company union has had an exclusive pass to contact the engineers for the past three years. We would only get the same sort of election the NMU got in the Standard Oil of New Jersey."

Curran has been in a position to help organize the unorganized engineers on the Export Line, on which the NMU is recognized. But the NMU delegates have been reluctant to cooperate with the MEBA in supplying it with the names of the engineers or assisting the MEBA in making contact with the unorganized licensed men.

The MEBA lost out on the Export Line in the '36-'37 strike, when it turned down a company proposal to grant it the closed shop and wage increases if the MEBA would sign while Curran's union remained unrecognized. The MEBA refused to desert the unlicensed men and finally lost the strike. The NMU, later in '37, again pulled a strike, and this time won recognition; but Curran refused then to support the MEBA in gaining a contract.

# William Pickens, NAACP Leader, Gets Federal Job

By ALBERT PARKER

William Pickens has a new job. It is with the federal government, in the Treasury Department. He has left his job as branch director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This is not suprising to those who have been watching his development in recent years. After all, he was spending more time and energy supporting the war than "advancing" the colored people. For every word he wrote about the conditions of the Negroes in the United States this last year, he wrote ten about how much tougher it would be for them under Hitler.

It is fitting for Pickens to do what he has done. Pickens should be paid by his real masters, the powers whom he really serves.

There has been a lot of sound and fury about the appointment. The Negro Democrats who supported Roosevelt last year feel bitter because none of them got the job, which pays a reported $6,000 salary. They feel that Roosevelt should never have appointed a man like Pickens, who was an ardent supporter of Willkie last November.

**They don't seem to understand what is involved. Pickens didn't get the job because of his position in the presidential elections. He got the job because of his position on something far more important: the war. Roosevelt picked him because he supports his war plans, and certainly Pickens stands out head and shoulders above all the other Negro misleaders when it comes to war-mongering. He can show the others, both Democrats and Republicans, a lot of tricks at this game.**

But while the job pays well, the work will be hard. For it is Pickens' job to sell "defense bonds" to the Negroes. This won't be much easier than selling refrigerators to the Eskimos.

For he has two large obstacles to overcome.

First, the Negro people (this does not apply to the so-called leaders) do not see any good reason for supporting a war conducted under Jim Crow conditions to preserve a "democracy" that does not include them. And before you can get anyone to shell out money for a cause, you're got to "sell" the cause to him.

**Second, of all the groups in this country, the Negroes have less money to buy bonds than anyone else. The reason for this is, of course, that the Negroes have been Jim Crowed out of all the better-paying jobs in expanding industry, and relegated to the hard, low-paid menial jobs or to the relief and WPA rolls, by the same capitalists who will profit from the war Pickens is supporting. Thus, even if they were in some way to be suddenly aroused, they would find it virtually impossible to buy bonds and to be able to feed and house themselves at the same time.**

Yes, Pickens will have to sweat to earn the salary that his Jim Crow masters will pay him.

# Not A Moment's Quiet On Detroit Strike Front

## Auto Workers and CIO Aren't Only Fighters; AFL Teamsters Have Just Won Big Battle

DETROIT, Mich., May 19—A great wave of militancy has spread through the auto plants in Detroit, and local union after local union is taking its place on the picket line or preparing the ground for battle.

Without exception these strikes are victorious.

The Excello strike ended this week with a five-cent raise for all workers. This strike occurred in spite of Walter Reuther's opposition, when local union members voted Reuther down and struck in spite of him.

Similar rank and file revolts have characterized other recent struggles. The International leadership of the UAW is powerless to control or stifle the determination of the ranks to defend their standard of living in the face of the governmental offensive against labor.

### WORKERS ON THE MARCH

The 7,000 Hudson workers are out on strike for a ten-cent wage increase, basing themselves on the victory of the GM workers.

The Murray Ohio workers threatened to strike for wages and other concessions, but the company surrendered to the union's main demands.

The Chrysler local representing the huge Chrysler plants has announced that, in view of the increased cost of living, it is terminating the wage provisions of the old agreement and is reopening negotiations demanding substantial wage increases.

The Budd Wheel local has recently demanded a ten-cent wage increase and will take a strike vote in one week if the company does not come across.

The Bohn Aluminum bargaining committee is also negotiating now for a ten-cent increase.

**In spite of the loud cries for "sacrifice," the workers are facing the rising costs with a full blown offensive of their own and have shown an unequalled determination to defend their standards. The International leaders who scurry around trying to put out fires have in recent weeks looked ridiculous.**

### GOVERNMENT IS WORRIED

Washington is well aware that the CIO top leadership cannot control the militant ranks beyond a certain point. Administration leaders are non-plussed at the rising wave of strikes, and when Jesse Jones, RFC administrator, commented recently that **"all these strikes shouldn't end with wage increases"** he quickly covered himself by whining that in the past the raises were justified. He doesn't dare to tell what he really is thinking, and that is, how in hell is the government going to plunge into the war actively, unless wages are frozen and cut, labor muzzled and controlled, and the CIO movement under control?

### TEAMSTERS WIN STRIKE

The strikes of the UAW-CIO in Detroit, which so worried Washington politicos, were not all that occurred in Detroit. A sensational strike of the AFL Teamsters undoubtedly did as much to cause the cold chills to run up and down the backs of the bosses.

**By means of a fine spirit of solidarity between the Teamsters and the Building Trades unions, the unions have organized for the first time the small home builders in Detroit, a field largely untouched by unionism nationally. The Teamsters struck against the lumber dealers and Home Builders Association, and both were forced to sign an agreement not only with the Teamsters but also with the Building Trades unions.**

### FORD SHOWDOWN COMING

Many other battles are pending. The Ford NLRB vote is set for Wednesday May 21. On Monday before the vote a huge mass meeting of Ford workers will be held by the UAW-CIO in Cadillac square, following a series of big departmental meetings. Following the NLRB vote, the NLRB hearings will once again be resumed and disclose all the vicious thuggery of the Ford Service Department.

**The Ford company granted a wage increase to its River Rouge workers and although it tried to give the credit to the AFL, all workers in Detroit know that the great strike of the CIO in Ford, the GM victory and wage increase, and other great battles now being waged in Detroit by the CIO, are what caused Ford to loosen up.**

When the CIO wins the NLRB vote, which it will, negotiations will begin to bring Ford up to the level of all plants in wages bargaining procedure and working conditions.

*Subscribe to the "Fourth International"*

# It Isn't News When Rats Bite Children In Harlem

## Capitalist Press Conceals Conditions of Negro Metropolis; The "American Way of Life" Doesn't Mean Very Much In Harlem

By MYRA WARD

Rats, roaches, and exorbitant rents—these describe the housing of 25 per cent of Manhattan's population—Harlem.

It isn't news when infants are bitten by rats in Harlem; even the Negro papers give only small space to such stories, they're so common.

Such items never are mentioned in the columns of the big bourgeois papers of New York. In fact most of the startling facts concerning Harlem are either ignored or suppressed by the bourgeois press. The report of a commission appointed by Mayor La Guardia in 1936 on health, employment, and housing in Harlem was not published in a single one of the big bourgeois papers!

How widely is it known that the tuberculosis deathrate in Harlem is among the highest in the world, that 213 out of every 100,000 people in Harlem die annually from the disease, whereas even in the congested area of New York's lower East Side, the rate is only 120? No reduction in this death rate can be expected until adequate food, sunlight, and decent housing are provided.

### THEY PAY FOR POVERTY BY DEATH AND DISEASE

Infant mortality is almost double the average rate of the rest of Manhattan. The same is true of diseases in general. Harlem has among the highest rates of crime and delinquency, relief rolls, and overcrowding. At the same time, it has among the lowest income rates in the country.

It is not surprising that these facts are not publicized in the boss papers; they are hardly anxious to acquaint the workers with the full extent of their misery. They are asking the Negroes to "defend the American way of life" and aren't anxious to describe what that way of life actually is for the Negro.

Harlem, despite its desperate poverty, is the Negro capital of the nation. In the past 25 years, the population of Harlem has increased 600 per cent.

From the shacks of the South and the slums of the industrial centers of the mid-West, thousands have migrated to Harlem in search not only of jobs but also seeking the cultural center of Negro life. They have found closed doors, dark vermin-infested tenements, and prejudice at every turn. But out of necessity a city was created from this where they could live, carry on business, find their own amusements.

White landlords attempted to profit from the influx of people by converting old brownstone houses into the largest possible number of apartments. To do this they call damp basements and stuffy attics "apartments," and divide each floor into many sections. Hundreds of people are forced into houses meant to accommodate only a few families. Property is neglected, rules for multiple dwellings are ignored.

### NEGROES LIVE THERE BUT OTHERS OWN ITS BUSINESS

It is interesting to note that of the total business in Harlem, only 18.6 per cent is owned and conducted by Negroes. These Negro-owned businesses are mainly beauty parlors, barbershops, and tobacco stores.

A large percentage of the property, especially apartment houses, is owned by Jewish landlords, which accounts for the so-called anti-Semitism in Harlem. This prejudice among some of the Negroes is an expression of hatred against the terrible conditions under which they must live. Naturally since this hatred is as yet politically undirected, and since the most immediate foe is the Jewish landlord or storekeeper, it frequently takes the blind form of denouncing them as Jews.

Housing conditions are often unbelievable. To start with, 85 per cent of the residential structures in Harlem are 35 or more years old. That means decrepit, rapidly decaying tenements. That means buildings which have been condemned as fire hazards, but still crowded with inhabitants. That means defective fire escapes, faulty plumbing. Many houses have no central heating, some no hot water, and some do not even have an indoor toilet. Often when it is indoors, it is located in the kitchen, or some other such undesirable spot.

Fires are common experiences in Harlem; deaths resulting from them are very frequent. It has become almost part of the routine to hear fire engines at any time during the day or night racing down some crowded side street.

So the vicious circle goes on—landlords and authorities deliberately ignoring fire hazards, filth, overcrowding; the people of Harlem forced to pay high rent for the privilege of enduring these conditions because other sections of the city are closed to them. Thus the ruling class fosters the division between black and white, sets up Jim Crow districts, and proceeds to squeeze out every cent of profit from the people whom they force to live in danger and disease.

# New York Times Offers A "Moderate" Program To Break The Trade Unions

The *New York Times* is campaigning to secure the adoption of "a few moderate measures" which "the Administration must now adopt if it seriously hopes to reduce the strike evil." "To Discourage Strikes" is the title of the May 14 *Times* editorial in which these "few moderate measures" are explained.

One "moderate" measure is a Congressional law that before workers can go on strike they must give thirty day's written notice.

This law would not be "coercive," according to the *Times*, which proposes no "positive legal penalities," such as electrocution or life imprisonment, if workers fail to comply, just the following "little" "negative" penalty:

**"Workers striking in defiance of this provision should lose the right under the Wagner Act still to be considered employes of the company against which they struck."**

To put it more plainly, the employers would have the right by law to fire all striking union men and to employ strikebreakers in their places.

And the *Times* editorial adds:

**"State and Federal laws should be revised where necessary to embody the principle that while men are free to quit their jobs at will, they are not free forcibly to prevent other men from taking their jobs. On the same principle, employers should not be prevented from offering those jobs to other men ... This means that mass picketing and violence to workers who attempt to enter a plant must not be tolerated by ... law."**

Boiled down to its essence, the "moderate" *Times* program embodies the strikebreaking methods of the most vicious open-shopper. It would put the unions in a government straight-jacket. It would legalize the time-worn premise of the employers that to strike means to "quit" the job. It would destroy the right to picket effectively. It would protect the employers in the use of strikebreakers. That's "all"! Just a few "moderate measures"!


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# Clothing Workers Get Raises

Officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO) and the Clothing Manufacturers Association shown signing a new agreement which the union heads claim will provide some $18,000,000 in annual wage increases for 135,000 clothing workers.

# Stalinist Alibi On Hess: Conspired With Trotsky!

## Somebody Must Have Blundered In the 'Daily Worker' Office; Theirs Not To Reason Why, Theirs But To Do And Lie

In line with the Communist Party's current intensified offensive against Trotskyism, the American tools of the Kremlin have gone to the ridiculous lengths of attempting to utilize against the Trotskyists—the Hess incident!

In order to do so, they have had to resort to an idiotic expedient. They have been foolish enough to resurrect the "evidence" of the Moscow Frameup Trials.

A Stalinist hack, long on memory and short on intelligence, reminds the world, in the May 14 *Daily Worker*, that one of the Moscow Trial victims, Piatakov, had made a reference in his "confession" that "linked" Trotsky to Hess.

Since the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinist press has not breathed a reference to the Moscow Trial frameups. The Kremlin has for two years attempted to lay the ghosts of Piatakov and his fellow victims.

And now, the *Daily Worker*, in its avidity to smear Trotskyism, makes the blunder of opening up the graves of the Moscow Trial victims and once more directing attention to the abominable crimes of Stalin.

### STALIN MURDERED TROTSKY; BUT TROTSKYISM GROWS

The GPU assassination of Trotsky last August was intended to destroy Trotskyism, which the Moscow Trial frameups had failed to do. Since Trotsky's death, however, his ideas and program of revolutionary internationalism have continued to flourish. The Trotskyist movement has made consistent and measurable advances. And the Stalinist lackeys in the United States, answerable to the wrath of the Kremlin and its world-wide gangster apparatus, the GPU, have become increasingly frantic in their efforts to destroy Trotskyism.

A renewed offensive against Trotskyism was ordered in the American Communist Party in January. An internal bulletin of the National Committee of the Communist Party, *Party News*, (January 1941), took account of the successes of our party, particularly in the Minnesota elections last November, and called for a more intensive campaign than ever against Trotskyism.

The Stalinist hacks started grinding away. Now there emerges an article headed: "Hess Linked to Trotskyite Plot on the Soviet Union; Trials Proved Deal Aimed at Smashing Socialism."

When Trotsky demanded an open hearing, face to face with his accusers, before any impartial tribunal in the world, the Kremlin Butcher hurried the hapless victims into the dungeons of Lubianka, where the executioners' guns within 24 hours silenced all future testimony and possible cross-examination.

The findings of the Commission of Inquiry, headed by Prof. John Dewey, wrote "finis" to whatever lurking speculation still remained as to the truth or falsity of the charges made against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The painstaking and definitive work of this committee is available in two books, "The Case of Leon Trotsky," and "Not Guilty."

### WHAT PIATAKOV "CONFESSED" WAS PURE INVENTION

What was the Piatakov "confession" about Hess which the *Daily Worker* ghouls have disinterred?

It appears on pages 64-65 of the Verbatin Report of the Court Proceedings of the January 1937 Moscow Trials, Piatakov is quoted as saying:

"Trotsky . . . then told me that he had conducted rather lengthy negotiations with the Vice-Chairman of the German National Socialist Party-Hess. It is true I cannot say whether there is an agreement signed by him, or whether there is only an understanding, but Trotsky put it to me as though an agreement existed, one which it is true still had to be given definite shape by certain other persons, of whom I shall speak *in camera* (in secret session)."

This statement of Piatokov's is the single "link" between Trotsky and Hess.

But the Dewey Commission disproved this statement by proof that Piatakov never met Trotsky in Norway, never spoke to Trotsky as he had alleged, and therefore could never have received from Trotsky's lips the revelations about Hess "revelations" which had emanated in reality from the fertile heads of the GPU.

### HOW THE "CONFESSION" WAS PROVED A FRAUD

Piatakov asserted that he had met Trotsky in December 1935 at Trotsky's residence in exile in Norway. He vowed that he flew by plane from Germany to Norway and landed at a large airfield "in or near Oslo."

The Commission secured documentary evidence from the airport officials in Oslo that no foreign plane had landed at the Oslo airport between September 15, 1935 and May 1936!

The Commission also secured evidence that it would have been impossible for Trotsky to have met Piatakov at any time without the meeting being known, because of the constant surveillance under which Trotsky was placed in Norway.

The Commission further proved that Piatakov could never have traveled by automobile to Trotsky's residence at the time he said he did, for all roads were impassable, being covered with one metre of snow. Even had the roads been passable, he could not have made a trip in half an hour, as he claimed, which normally takes two and a half hours. All the material circumstances of Piatakov's "visit" with Trotsky were proved lies. All the "statements" of Trotsky to Piatakov were thereby established as pure fabrications of Stalin's GPU.

In concluding its observations on this "testimony" of Piatakov, the report of the Dewey Commission (Not Guilty, Page 191) declares:

**"We hold that the evidence concerning Piatakov's alleged flight in the record of the trial is open to the gravest doubt; that the Prosecutor's silence, and that of the Court, in the face of the published testimony impugning that evidence during the trial, warrants a suspicion of frame-up; that the doubt which the record inspires is converted by the evidence offered in rebuttal into certainty that no such flight took place. We therefore find that Piatakov did not see Trotsky in**

(Continued on page 6)

# Packinghouse Men Demand New Setup To Help Build Union

The long struggle of the nation's packinghouse workers to establish an industrial union controlled by themselves in place of the Stalinist-ridden leadership of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee has finally come to a head. CIO leaders recently held hearings in Chicago at which many local packinghouse unions voiced their harsh criticism of the present national leadership of the PWOC.

The desires of the packinghouse workers are voiced in a lengthy resolution recently adopted by the PWOC Local 9 — covering the Hormel plant — of Austin, Minnesota, one of the few successful PWOC locals.

Local 9 "condemns all the factional manipulations and job seeking instrumentalists, including the top of the PWOC." It calls for the establishment of a new organizational staff of the PWOC, with district directors to be appointed by the PWOC national office, each district to have a policy committee. It calls for "the principle of complete equality in the right to fill positions in PWOC for Negro packinghouse workers and women workers."

**Local 9 demands a national conference of elected delegates from PWOC locals to be called immediately, the representation to be one delegate for each 100 dues-paying members, the agenda to consist of two points: reorganization of PWOC, and conditions in the packinghouse industry.**

Austin packinghouse workers express strong disapproval of the recent 8% wage increase tossed as a bone to the workers by the large packers. What is needed is "an additional flat increase in pay of 15c per hour, improvement in working conditions and contracts on a national scale with the big packers in the country," Local 9's resolution concludes.

**Join the Socialist Workers Party**

# California Agricultural Workers Organizing In Union Drive

## Breaking Into Assoc. Farmers Strongholds; AFL Becoming Interested In These Workers

By JOHN WHEELER

SAN BERNARDINO, California—The bankers' Associated Farmers used to place Riverside and San Bernardino at the head of their list of strongholds. But things have changed: the labor movement has grown stronger; and the workers are rapidly completing their task of knocking the guts out of these labor-hating and labor-hated vigilantes.

Big-money interests have large investments in California agriculture. They own huge ranches, packing-house chains, cotton gins and canneries. They hold mortgages on the bulk of what is left. Climate, soil and wages are about as favorable as any place in the world. With low wages, annual profits are certain.

As a guarantee against wage increases, California capitalists have formed a powerful organization to combat labor organization. The Associated Farmers not only fight to prevent the organization of agricultural workers but, in combination with the Industrial Association and the Chamber of Commerce — its parents — it constantly attacks organized city labor.

In this they are logical: a strongly organized, progressive city labor movement will mean an organizational drive for the field workers. They know what has caused the failure in the organization of the agricultural workers in the past: a lack of support from the city workers' unions.

### BOSS TERROR FAILS

They fear labor organization worse than a drought. They have fought it with everything at their command: they spend millions of dollars to buy editors, spies, police and officials, to break unions, strikes and labor legislation. Their thugs and police have terrorized, beaten and killed hundreds of workers and countless organizers. When corruption, terror and starvation failed, they used the courts to imprison those who threatened their open shop.

But in spite of their power they are losing the fight. Here and in Riverside the union workers beat these anti-labor mobsters down with baseball bats when they came into conflict. They will do it again should the occasion arise.

The teamsters were, and remain, in the forefront of that battle. With the successes of their militant policy and their strategic position they rallied the rest of the labor movement to their side.

The effects of their organizing policy on agricultural labor are shown by two recent events:

1. The Teamsters here were responsible for the organization of a local of agricultural workers in a nearby citrus area. In the little more than a year of its existence, the local has grown to over three hundred members and is steadily increasing in size. The local labor movement sends someone to each of its meetings to direct and educate the membership. They continually impress the young union with the need for a militant policy.

2. A local composed almost entirely of Mexican agricultural workers was established some time ago in Ventura county. About four months ago this union went out on strike. During the first part of the strike the packinghouse workers were taken into the local thus giving the union an industrial form. Migrants from the Middle Western States have been hired as scabs. But operations have been paralyzed.

### AFL IS INTERESTED

The AFL of California is supporting the strike with an energy that amazes those who have seen their lack of interest in agricultural strikes of the past.

**Several car-loads of the scab-picked fruit reached Corona—not far from San Bernardino—to be processed. The Teamsters declared it "hot cargo" and refused to allow anyone to move it. The lemons began to turn to juice and run down the street. The producers were forced to have the railroad haul the rotten and useless fruit back to Ventura where scabs could be found to dump them into the river.**

This is happening in the land of the Associated Farmers!

# Minneapolis Labor Slate Places In Primaries

(Continued from page 1)

ion take up the question of organizing a permanent delegated Labor Party and plan for the formation of a national Labor Party!

### STALINISTS TAKE BEATING

The Stalinist-FLP campaign was a mixture of pacifist clap-trap plus heated attacks upon the Socialist Workers Party. In all his talks Al Hansen poured out lies against the "Dunnes."

"The more certain the Dunnes say that I'm wrong, the more certain I am that I'm right," he said.

That the workers of Minneapolis differ with him is apparent from the tiny vote polled by Hansen.

The FLP defeat in Minneapolis strikes another blow at the tottering FLP in this state, which had placed considerable hope in making a respectable showing in the Minneapolis campaign. The state FLP paper, *The Leader*, Stalinist-controlled, accused the Trotskyists of intending "to cut the mighty F-L movement down to a small, narrow 'Labor Party' which would be the private property of the labor skates."

**That is, the Stalinists fight tooth and nail against the idea that organized labor should form its own independent political party, based upon and controlled by the trade union movement. The Communist Party is still clinging to its Popular Front concept of subordinating labor to the liberals and small businessmen in a mushy third party.**

The day after primaries, the Stalinist-controlled CIO Industrial Union Council called upon the Farmer-Labor group to run a sticker candidate against Eide. But Hansen could get only 6,000 votes in the primaries, a Stalinist-controlled sticker candidate for mayor couldn't make a dent in the labor vote.

### LABOR ANSWERS STALINISTS

Answering Stalinist slurs upon the labor ticket, Roy Wier, organizer for the Minneapolis Central Union, stated in a recent radio address:

**"It is quite safe to repeat here that 95 per cent of organized labor in Minneapolis is interested in and true to the principle of independent political action, and why shouldn't they be, after the many experiences of a lifetime? We as a committee are not wavering on that issue, nor has this (political) committee any hopes or ambitions to make any deals with any other political parties. On the contrary we intend to try and eliminate such political parties as are now dictating policies and propaganda for the organized labor movement ... Our committee has hopes that after this election the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor movement will know definitely and decisively what kind of an honest political party labor looks forward to and is willing to support and finance ..."**

### LABOR'S GOOD PROSPECT

The labor slate is in an excellent position to win the general election June 9th. Most of the labor aldermanic candidates won so decisively that they are conceded victory, as are the labor candidates for the various city boards.

The boss candidate for mayor, Kline, is running on a program drafted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, demanding that the chief of police be placed under civil service and given a life-time job. This is the same anti-labor proposal the businessmen tried unsuccessfully to get adopted in 1937.

Kline can pick up all of Mayor Leach's votes and still be roundly defeated if the labor political committee is able to arouse the workers and turn out the labor vote. This can be done by hammering away on the issues of war and workers' rights.

# The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By ALBERT PARKER

## The Negro March To Washington

Last week in this column we discussed the March to Washington on July 1, and indicated the full agreement of the Socialist Workers Party with such an undertaking. We also warned that if the march were to accomplish anything, it would have to be militant, on a mass scale, and based on the proper set of demands.

It is as yet too early to determine just what the Randolph Committee means by the "militancy" which they urge the Negroes to exercise in this march. It is also too early to determine in what way the Committee, and the local groups, are going to mobilize the marchers, and whether they will really succeed in bringing out the masses.

**But it is already possible to discuss the general approach of the Committee, as set forth in its "Call To America" (copy available from Negroes' Committee To March On Washington For Equal Participation in National Defense, Suite 301, 217 West 125 St., New York City).**

**This Call is filled with militant words and some not-so-militant ideas. It demands the end of Jim Crowism; it stresses the need for action by the Negroes to bring it about; but it does not indicate the correct kind of action and program. As a result, it is filled with contradictions from one end to the other, which will have to be settled in one direction or another.**

## What The Call Says

In one place the *Call* says:

"But what of national unity? We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all.

"But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white; it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand."

**Why all those ifs? Don't we know very well what is going on? Is there any real doubt in their minds as to exactly what is happening to the Negro in our great American democracy?**

**Just turn those two paragraphs around, read the second first, and you'll get a better picture of what the Call's declaration of loyalty amounts to. You'll see that it is a declaration of loyalty to a hollow mockery, and that hidden behind the "ifs" is a potential surrender of the fight for full equality for the Negro people.**

Maybe they don't think so, but the ruling class in this country sees it and they will say, "Don't worry too much about this whole business of the march; no matter how they are treated, they promise that they'll go along and that they'll drag the masses behind them."

This is one of the contradictions that must be solved before a fight against Jim Crowism is going to be successful. Loyalty to a Jim-Crow system can never end in its destruction and replacement by a system of equality.

## Kinds of Mass Action For Effective Struggle

This is not the only instance of the Call for the march making concessions to the ideas looked on with favor by the ruling class. In another place it says:

"However, we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical power, when misdirected, is more harmful than helpful.

"We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

"Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Demark Vesy, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass fought, bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy."

Our criticism of this section of the Call should not be mistaken to mean that the Socialist Workers Party is in favor of "ill-considered and intemperate action" or anything of the kind. Not at all.

**But who is served by this reassurance that everything is going to be nice and respectable and within the "lawful" bounds established by the ruling class and its anti-labor, Jim Crow legislatures and courts?**

Once again, the Bourbon politicians in Washington will smile and say, "It's nothing to worry about, they are only letting off a little steam."

Does this serve the interests of the struggle against Jim Crowism? If so, we fail to see it.

And if we are going to talk about history, let us talk about it correctly. Did King George the Third think that Crispus Attucks' action was "lawful"? Did the slaveholders of Virginia think that Nat Turner was "orderly"?

**The trouble is that the Randolph Committee is too much concerned about what the powers-that-be may think about them. And as long as that is true, they lead a half-hearted fight, in spite of all their talk about aggressiveness and militancy.**

Considerations such as these may seem trivial on first glance, but they help to determine the character of the entire march, and those who want a successful and meaningful march must think about and correct them.

**(Continued next week)**

# Bob Harte Died Defending Trotsky

## Stalin's GPU Kidnapped And Murdered Him On May 24, 1940

This May 24 marks the first anniversary of the GPU murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, member of the Socialist Workers Party, who died defending the life of Leon Trotsky.

Bob Harte, who was one of Comrade Trotsky's secretary-guards, was kidnapped during the GPU machine-gun assault upon Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan, Mexico, in the early morning of May 24, 1940.

A month later, on June 25, Bob's body was found buried in a lime-filled pit in the cellar of a near-by farmhouse, which had been a hangout of his assassins. Two bullets had been fired into his brain.

When 24-year old Bob Harte left New York City to join the comrades who were acting as Trotsky's guards, he knew full well he was going to help defend the most dangerous outpost of the international revolutionary movement.

Whoever undertook the task of guarding Leon Trotsky knew that he was shielding with his own body one marked for assassination by Stalin, commanding the resources of one of the biggest nations on earth. Whoever stood in the way of Stalin's gangsters was himself marked for death.

Seven of Trotsky's secretaries and guards had already paid the supreme price for their devotion to and protection of the founder of the Fourth International. Bob Harte became the eighth on this honor roll of martyrs.

### THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT OF MAY 24, 1940

Through a ruse, 27 desperate agents of the GPU managed to gain entrance into the walled grounds and blasted their way with machine guns to Trotsky's sleeping quarters. They riddled his bed with a stream of slugs, and hurled incendiary bombs in an effort to destroy Trotsky's invaluable archives and documents.

Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, escaped — this time — by miraculous chance. Trotsky had foreseen this eventuality for years, as many of his closest associates and his two sons and daughters were struck down by the hand of Stalin. At the first sound of disturbance, the couple had thrown themselves into a dark corner while one of the gunmen machine-gunned their bed to pieces.

After the attackers had finally withdrawn, it was discovered that Harte had been kidnapped.

The Stalinist press at first attempted to mislead the search for Harte by spreading the slander that Harte was in complicity with the assailants, and then by alleging that the assassination attempt was faked up by Trotsky himself for the sake of publicity.

But the full facts of the guilt of Stalin and his GPU were brought to light when nine arrested Stalinists confessed to their personal participation in the assault and implicated a score of others. It was proved that the leaders of the assault were David Alfaro Siqueiros, a Stalinist of fifteen years standing and president of the Stalinist Union of Mexican ex-combatants in Spain, and David Serrano, a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party.

It was while the Mexican police were searching for the police uniforms that the assailants had worn during the assault, that they accidently uncovered the crude grave in which the murdered Harte was buried.

### LINK BETWEEN HARTE MURDER AND SLAYING OF TROTSKY

How did the assassins manage to make their way into the fortified residence? Why was Harte kidnapped?

It was not until the GPU succeeded in its mission of slaying Trotsky, on August 21, 1940, that sufficient facts were uncovered to make a complete reconstruction of the criminal acts of May 24.

Those who had confessed their connection with the first crime repeatedly spoke of a mysterious person, speaking with a "French" accent, who appeared to be directing the assault.

It can be deduced that the GPU gang made its entrance into the Trotsky residence through the assistance of someone who was known to the guards. Harte undoubtedly knew who that person was. He was kidnapped and murdered to prevent his revealing the identy of this person.

Had he lived to identify the person who appeared on May 24 in the guise of a friend and who effected the opening of the gates to permit the entry of the machine-gun gang, Harte undoubtedly would have named Frank Jacson, later the assassin of Leon Trotsky.

Every essential fact of the May 24 assault on Trotsky and the murder of Bob Harte is now known. The Mexican police have the confessions of a number of the criminals. Every participant is known.

The murderer of Harte is *known*. That murderer is Alfaro Siqueiros.

It was Siqueiros who confessedly directed the gang in the kidnapping of Harte. It was Siqueiros who confessedly hired the hut in which Harte's body was found. It was Siqueiros' wife who confessedly bought the cot on which the kidnapped Harte was murdered. Whether Siqueiros actually fired the final shot into Harte's brain is still not know. But that is immaterial. Siqueiros directed the murder. He is guilty.

### THE GPU MANAGES TO BUY MEXICAN "JUSTICE"

Despite this proven guilt, Siqueiros is now free. The almost unlimited resources of Stalin which financed the assassinations of Harte and Trotsky have been able to buy Mexican capitalist "justice" as well.

Siqueiros was released on bail, after two out of three judges, in the hearing in Mexico City on the Harte murder charge, voted, on March 26, in favor of dropping this charge on the grounds that no "concrete" evidence could be shown that Siqueiros had personally pulled the fatal trigger, although the judges conceded he had directed the attack on Trotsky's house.

Less than a month after his release, Siqueiros jumped his bail and flew by plane to Cuba. His intentions of leaving Mexico were fully known before his flight. The daily press of Mexico reported his preparations, including his open arrangement for passports and other documents. The venal Mexican officials did nothing, pretending not to know Siqueiros' legal position.

No doubt Stalin thinks that he and his agents will never face an accounting for their crimes. No doubt he hopes the workers of the world will forget the memory of Bob Harte.

But we have not forgotten, nor will we ever forget. The Trotskyists will continue to refresh the memory of the working class.

### STALIN WILL PAY FOR HIS ANTI-LABOR CRIMES

The political system which can defend itself only with the bullets of hired assassins is a weak and crumbling system. It is doomed by the overwhelming wrath of the great masses who suffer under it.

Stalin and his pawns will yet pay for their crimes. That justice will not speak through the smoking pistols of skulking hirelings. It will speak through the organized might of tremendous masses, marching in the open, consciously destroying by revolutionary action the whole political system of counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

That is the only vengeance which Bob Harte, on the basis of the Marxist principles for which he lived and died, would have wanted.

In once again paying tribute to the memory of a brave and loyal Bolshevik, we do so in the knowledge that his vengeance, a social vengeance, is assured.

**Robert Sheldon Harte—1916-1940**

# What "Negotiated" Peace Means

## *Their Peace Would Be As Imperialist As Their War*

The flight of Hess to England has been most revealing in the reactions it called forth on the question of peace.

The "isolationists" gave expression to their views through Senator Wheeler. He at once called on Roosevelt to utilize the occasion of the Hess flight to attempt to bring about a negotiated peace between the two imperialist camps.

Does Wheeler have in mind any particular peace terms? He dared not be specific, any more than the other capitalist spokesmen. His attitude is revealed, however, in the remark he made to reporters:

**"If the President of the United States would follow the wishes of the American people, he would seek to bring about peace. He knows that you cannot force democracy on somebody—that democracy has to come from within."**

This means in so many words: Do not try to eradicate fascism in Germany. Leave Hitler alone. Let him stay in power. Implied in this attitude is the great fear of the reactionaries that any defeat of Hitler, any overthrow of fascism in Germany, can only mean working class revolution. Rather than this, Wheeler prefers a negotiated peace on Hitler's terms.

### "PEACE" ADVOCATES WANT WAR AGAINST THE USSR

More than this. Wheeler — the **Daily Worker** is quite right on this point — would like to see the "real" war, the war between Germany and Russia. Wheeler jumped at the idea that the Nazis were divided as to their next step; that some, including a Hess faction, wanted Hitler to end the war with England in order to turn on Stalin and begin the imperialist division of Soviet Russia. Wheeler wants Roosevelt to encourage this turn in the war by all means.

Roosevelt has remained silent on the issues raised by the Hess incident. Naturally a negotiated peace at this time, giving Hitler the victory in the war, would be a blow at Roosevelt's prestige and politics, the politics of "democratic" imperialism. If the war ends in a German victory the position of the United States is weakened internationally. Futhermore everyone recognizes that the greater war for world domination, the war between United States and German imperialism, would not be postponed for very long.

In England it is hardly astonishing with what unanimity the Labor Party members of the Cabinet have spoken out — amidst the pregnant silence of Churchill and the Tories. It is clear that the Laborites were forced to speak out without consulting Churchill. Just think what it would mean to Bevin and Morrison and the other labor lackeys if their participation in the Tory Government ended in a negotiated peace with Hitler! Their betrayal of English labor would be so devastatingly clear that they might very well fear to come face to face with the workers they "represent."

The mistake of the workers is in thinking that an outright victory for British imperialism would make much difference. So far as the Laborites are concerned a victory too would end the class truce and they would be kicked aside by Churchill.

One thing is clear. The Hess matter has not smoked the imperialists of either camp out into declaring any terms of peace. In this the capitalist war-makers show their good class sense. For if they were to state their real aims, which can be nothing but the plundering and looting of the world, the masses of workers would not care to fight for them for a single moment.

But Churchill willing as he might be to come to terms with Hitler, has to consider the British working class, not the no-account representatives of the Labor Party, but the great masses, who tolerate Churchill only because they think he is fighting against fascism.

The Stalinists naturally sensed immediately the great danger to Russia in a negotiated peace at this time. Far from preparing the working class at home or abroad for such a situation, however Stalin's policy has been disastrous for both Russia and the world proletariat. His entire propaganda in all the countries has called for peace. The few hypocritical phrases thrown in about a "democratic, people's" peace, have not half hidden Stalin's desire to see peace at any price, a negotiated peace, any peace so long as Russia was left alone. The first talk of peace between Britain and Germany, however, has shown that it would in all likelihood mean war on Russia.

### NEITHER THEIR WAR NOR THEIR PEACE

The issue of peace, as the issue of war, involves the fate of the Soviet Union. It involves also the fate of the working class in the class struggle. *That is why every Marxist stands apposed to an imperialist peace just as much as to the imperialist war.* An imperialist war means a war carried on by capitalist governments for imperialist aims. If the war started by the capitalist class to accomplish its policies of robbery, is ended by that same class, the peace can only be a robber's peace.

The negotiations between the capitalist representatives of two countries would merely involve the transference from one to the other colonies and markets and loot. If the imperialists are permitted to make the peace, it can only mean a far worse Versailles.

If the British won, then many have already proposed that this time Germany should be treated even worse than last: it would be divided up into small states as in the Middle Ages. If Germany wins then all Europe and more besides will be crushed under the heel of Germany imperialism.

The working class wants a democratic peace, the kind of peace proposed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks when they took power in the first World War. Such a peace would mean no annexations and no indemnities, not in the sense of reestablishing the status quo that existed before the war. That is impossible in any case. But it would mean the real self-determination of all national peoples, in the colonies as well as in the advanced countries.

**But the workers cannot make the peace without taking state power into their own hands. It is the ruling class of the nation that makes peace, as well as war. To become the ruling class the workers would have to overthrow the present capitalist ruling class.**

As Lenin said again and again during the last war: "One cannot jump out of an imperialist war, one cannot attain a democratic, unoppressive peace without overthrowing the power of capital, without the state power passing to a different class, the proletariat."

Not the Wheelers, not the Roosevelts, not the Churchills, nor the Bevins and Morrisons who serve the capitalists, can make a democratic peace: Nor can such a peace be brought about by Stalinist propaganda for peace. As Lenin said to the socialist elements who acted in the last war as the Stalinists do in this one: "There is nothing more harmful than phrases like the 'manifestations of the people's will to peace' ".

Everybody, including Hitler, says he wants peace. But each of the representatives of national capitalism advances as peace the oppressive conditions of "his" imperialism. The truly democratic socialist slogans for peace can only be made effective by the power of the proletariat; that is, by a series of revolutions in all the advanced countries.

Such a peace would be followed not by the re-division of Germany or of Europe into new states, not by the division of Soviet Russia among the imperialist victors, but in a Soviet United States of Europe. Soviet Russia must be defended by the workers against the imperialist bandits in both robber-camps, so that later, cleansed of the disease of Stalinism, the Soviet Union can enter into this new Europe. Such an Europe would repudiate all the capitalist debts, freeing the masses to that extent from the bankrupting burdens of the war.

Stalin proposed peace without daring to set forth any program of revolutionary peace. But the revolutionary proletariat which succeeds in taking power first, it does not matter in which of the countries, will at once repeat the terms proposed by Lenin and Trotsky to terminate the first World War. Those terms, proposed by workers, cannot but help to spread the revolution to all the countries of Europe. Only in this way can the workers end the war with a democratic peace.

**J. W.**

# The Problem Of National Freedom For Poland

By JACK WEBER

Who is it that struggles for Polish independence? First, there are the former rulers who have set up their government-in-exile under the protection of Churchill in London. Then there are the Social Democrats, particularly the leaders who fled for their lives from Hitler and Stalin. With the latter and outside their ranks we find also many Jews. All these exiles support the cause of English imperialism, which they call the democratic cause, hoping that its victory will bring the restoration of Poland after the war.

Are all these elements fighting for the same cause? Are the Polish generals, the reactionary landed aristocracy, the Social Democrats, the oppressed Jews, all in the same camp? Insofar as all of them support one of the imperialist contenders for world domination, they surely are in the same camp. But so far as their hopes and desires for the future are concerned, they are just as surely poles apart.

In the case of Poland particularly, it is impossible for the forces demanding national liberation to hide the absolutely unbridgable gulf between the social classes. Despite the German treatment of the Poles, despite their common exile and dispersion due to the combined conquest of Hitler and Stalin, these nationalists cannot forget the Poland of yesterday. No talk of national liberation and of unity in this struggle can hide the realities of the class struggle in "united" Poland. Not all this talk can hide the impossibility to achieve democracy under the ruling class, the capitalists and landowners, of poverty-stricken Poland.

The entire history of Poland between two wars is too vivid a memory. The workers and peasants, among them the Jewish workers, cannot forget, for the Polish Junker rule seared itself into their memories. The Polish reactionaries therefore do not even pretend that they have changed in any way, do not even pretend that they propose, if placed again in power, to act differently. Even in London they do not hide their utter contempt for the masses, and above all for the Jews.

### *As Anti-Semitic As the Nazis*

The actions of the ruling caste in London have become a scandal for the English. Anti-Semitism in the Polish military forces serving with the English was so intense that ten Jewish military doctors resigned in protest. The Polish National Council, the "parliament" in exile, proposed recently that after the war all Jews be driven out of Poland and sent to Madagascar. *Jestem Polakem*, organ of the Polish "National Democrats," regularly carries on in London the same racial propaganda contained in the Nazi press. The protests of the British liberals and of the English press, particularly the London **New Chronicle**, have not diverted Churchill in the least from continuing his aid to the Polish generals. In actual fact the British bourgeois press is scandalized not so much by the well-known fact of the anti-Semitism of the Polish ruling class, but by its openness.

All of this places the Jews who support England in the war in an impossibly contradictory position. They cannot pick and choose as to what part of Churchill's program they support and what part reject. Their one hope—vain hope!—is that Churchill and the other "democratic" imperialists will "reward" them for their support by obtaining concessions for them. Churchill will do this no more for the Polish Jews than he will for the British working class right at home. Churchill fights this war for British capitalism, and for British capitalism alone. The Poland that will get his support now and in the future is capitalist Poland, the ally of British imperialism.

The Social Democrats are in no better position. While speaking for a double goal in their struggle, national and social liberation, they place first the national goal. Their underground press in Poland states that "the main task of the Polish working masses is the re-establishment of the full independence and liberty of Poland," adding of course that it must base its existence on the principles of democracy and "social justice." The past, they say, must never be repeated, nor will they exchange Hitler-slavery for Stalin-slavery.

But just how will support of capitalist England bring about democracy and freedom from slavery? Churchill proposes, if he proposes to do anything at all for Poland; to restore the old Poland, to restore the old Poland and no other.

### *Liberation Can Only Be Socialist*

Nowhere is it clearer than in Poland that class society makes real liberation, both national and social, impossible under capitalist rule. Whoever allies himself with Churchill allies himself with the Polish Junkers and fights not for liberation but for a form of slavery only quantitatively and not qualitatively different from that of Hitler. The Polish capitalists use the idea of national independence and national liberation for the purpose of misleading workers into support of their capitalist rule. When they point to the need for "unity" in the struggle against a foreign oppressor, they mean to enlist the masses under the banner of the ruling class. Those who link together the fight for democracy and the fight for a free nation with "democratic" imperialism, serve the Polish Junkers and not the masses.

The workers and peasants of Poland will liberate themselves as Poles when they liberate themselves as workers and peasants from the grip of their exploiters. The danger of national enslavement exists for all Europe so long as capitalism exists. Only the overthrow of this system will remove that danger. Then, and only then, can the nations of Europe really achieve unity, the unity of the workers and peasants, the unity of the Socialist United States of Europe. What are the rivalries of the states of Europe today but the rivalries of the capitalist ruling classes, each one desiring to maintain and extend its power to exploit the masses. The masses desire peace and would gladly cooperate the moment the upper class disappears from history.

# THE MILITANT

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8. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
9. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

## If Britain Wins

A favorite method used by those who are anxious to convince the masses that they should support the democracies in this war is to picture the dreadful consequences of a fascist victory. We cannot and do not deny the truth of the proposition that the masses would indeed be in a terrible situation in case of a fascist victory, although we deny categorically the implicit argument of the democrats that the workers will never recover from such a victory.

But let us try to picture the results of a victory of English and American imperialism. The democrats somehow or other almost completely avoid any discussion of what will follow a victory of the capitalist democracies. They simply assume that with the defeat of Germany all the countries of Europe will become democratized and those who were forced to vacate their positions when the Nazis came in will be restored to power.

Different and more realistic ideas of the probable situation of Europe after a Nazi defeat are held by hard-headed officials of the various embassies in Washington. These officials recognize that conditions in Europe after a German defeat will be just as appalling as after a German victory.

A dispatch from Washington in the New York *Times* of May 18 indicates that the embassies there picture Europe after a Nazi defeats as a completely disorganized continent with hungry people fighting amongst themselves and no group strong enough to restore order. The United States, say these embassy officials, must now begin the accumulation of huge food reserves and be ready to feed a hungry Europe. And what is more, the United States must be ready to "tell or order the other nations what to do," says the dispatch.

While it is not stated in so many words, it is clear that what is meant is that the masses will not stand for a restoration of the capitalist regime and the United States must be prepared to crush every revolutionary uprising.

And even if the U. S. army or the English army is not sent to assure order, the conditions will be advantageous for a fascist or military dictatorship.

One thing and one thing only will prevent either a fascist dictatorship or a military dictatorship, and that is the proletariat taking power into its own hands. But for that a revolutionary party is essential. That is another practical and imperative reason why the building of such a party now is so all-important.

And it is impossible to build such a party by supporting the imperialists and thus assuming responsibility for the war and all its dreadful consequences. To train the vanguard to look upon capitalism as the cause of fascism and thus to prepare that vanguard to destroy capitalism whenever the opportunity offers itself—that is the only method to take advantage of the situation that will present itself after a defeat for Hitler.

## After The War

Secretary of State Hull made a speech Saturday night outlining a "post-war world reconstruction program." It consisted of pious generalities which revealed little, if anything, of what the world will really be like if Roosevelt and Churchill are the victors.

We learned much more about what that world would be like from the speech delivered by Secretary of the Navy Knox to the graduating class of the Naval War Academy on May 16. Precisely in those places where Hull was vague, Knox was unguardedly concrete.

The world of a Roosevelt-Churchill victory will not be a world of unarmed men but a world of great armies and navies. "The war of 1917 was not a war to end all wars," said Knox, "and we would be foolish to take it for granted that the present holocaust will be any different. We can rest assured that when Germany and its will of force is ultimately defeated in Europe another Hitler twenty or thirty years from now will arise and will be able to do the same in an even shorter period of time if the world again relinquishes its policing powers."

By "the world . . . policing powers," Knox of course means the armed force of the United States. He made that clear by concluding with an exhortation to the graduating officers of the Naval War Academy that they should "devote our lives" to the continued maintainance of the most powerful military and naval machine possible after the war.

This war, Knox makes clear enough, will not bring any lasting peace. It will not bring an end to the menace of fascism. It will not relieve the masses of the crushing burden of military expenditures.

All that the masses are offered after the present blood-bath is an endless vista of more wars of the same kind, more deprivations, more slaughter. Knox confesses as much.

His unusually frank remarks—they came in the course of a speech on another subject—are a revelation of the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist ruling class, which can offer the common people of America neither peace nor security, now or in the future.

## FDR's Case For War

Every once in a while even so clever a politician as Roosevelt lifts the heavy curtain concealing the real causes of the war and permits the people to glance at the things that really worry the ruling class of this country. The masses, sincerely devoted to democracy, must be fed with the propaganda that the United States and England are fighting to preserve democracy; but sections of the ruling class must be given more realistic, more hard-headed and truer reasons for fighting Hitler.

National Foreign Trade Week is being observed this week. Interested in observing it are, of course, the bankers and the manufacturers who make huge profits by selling American goods and by investing American capital in foreign countries. The very existence of American capitalism depends upon foreign trade and investments. The men who are in charge of this foreign trade are not the type to be taken in by nice phrases about democracy. Cold facts are necessary to convince them that a war against Germany is necessary.

Hence Roosevelt, in the statement which he issued in connection with the observance of National Foreign Trade Week, was careful to point out that a victory of Germany will mean that "there can be no foreign trade of the future on fair terms under democratic principles."

What is meant by this is that American capitalism fears that it will be unable to compete successfully in world markets against German capitalism in case of a Hitler victory. It is this fear which is the fundamental cause of the determination of the dominant section of the ruling class of this country to help Britain defeat Germany.

It is quite true that the President also goes on to say that, in addition to the foreign trade of this country, the "democratic way of life" is menaced by totalitarian aggression. But the inescapable fact remains that the leaders of industry and commerce, those who control this nation, are interested exclusively in the huge profits which are menaced by a possible German victory. When the workers fight and die in a war conducted by the ruling class of this country they do so to guard the commerce and investments of the American capitalists. The workers mean to fight fascism but in reality they fight for the interests of their bosses.

## Rubber G. E. B. Over Elastic

**United Rubber Workers of America has further caved in under pressure from the Roosevelt administration. As a "national defense measure," the board has adopted a resolution to ban "rump" strikes. It doesn't define "rump," but the rest makes clear that it means any strike.**

**The board resolves "that where a strike would imperil the production of goods essential to the defense of this Nation or its Allies, that the International Union be permitted sufficient opportunity to contact the Agencies of Government to invoke their aid and assistance in preventing such strikes by removal or amelioration of the causes."**

**The board hopes that the above resolution will be "proof to our membership that the position of this G.E.B. is in conformity with the expressions of support for President Roosevelt and his foreign policy."**

# Who Are These French Handmaidens Of Hitler

### The Truth About The Present Rulers Of France Whom The American And British 'Democrats' Call A 'New' Leadership

Who are the French handmaidens of Hitler? Who are these rulers of unoccupied France who last week proclaimed themselves the allies of the Nazi conquerors?

The impression is deliberately created by the press and the spokesmen of the Roosevelt administration that the present rulers of France are some upstart gang who thrust their way to power against the resistance of the former democratic government and leaders.

The American and British bourgeois democrats do not dare to tell the truth about this so-called "new" French regime.

For, the truth is, these alleged "new" rulers in France are not new at all. They are merely the old rulers with a few shifts in governmental posts and a change of face here and there.

Search from top to bottom in the present Vichy government. Every French official who has made his peace with Hitler was until June, 1940, a loud and ardent champion of bourgeois democracy.

**THE SAME MEN LAUNCHED THE 'WAR FOR DEMOCRACY'**

The men who run France as the lackeys of Hitler are the same men who called on the French workers and peasants in August, 1939, to give up their lives in "war for democracy."

Not a single military commander or high-ranking naval official of the Vichy regime, but was placed in his position by the former bourgeois democratic government.

Who is Marshal Petain, whom the capitalist class of France has put forth as dictator? He is the "Hero of the Marne," the "idol of the French Republic," the enshrined warrior appointed by the bourgeois democratic government in its last desperate hour to be its military savior.

Who is Admiral Darlan? He was the naval chief of the "democratic" Daladier regime.

Who is Laval? Premier and cabinet minister of a dozen governments of the French "democracy."

Who are Vichy's ambassadors, diplomats, the staffs of the colonies, the military and naval staffs, the heads of the municipal governments, the heads of the provinces? etc. etc. All, all, are the old heads, the old officials of the "democracy."

**THE SAME ARMED FORCES THAT PRESERVED "NATIONAL UNITY"**

The men who dominate France today as the puppets of Nazidom are the men who in October, 1938, mobilized the French Army of "Democracy" against the General Strike, calling for "national unity" against the main enemy, Hitler. For that they were hailed by the British and American press as the saviors of democracy.

This week we read how 5,000 Jews in Paris were marched off to concentration camps. What armed force carried out this vicious act on behalf of Hitler? Was it some new, special, fascist Storm Troop organization? No. It was the old French *Garde Mobile* trained by the old bourgeois democratic government, the Mobile Guard that Daladier used to smash the labor movement in the interest of "national defense" against—Hitler!

No paper in America as loudly bewails the fate of the French bourgeois democratic government as the Social-Democratic *New Leader*. None excoriates with such violence this "new" Petain regime.

Yet the *New Leader* has its counterpart in France today, published by its political comrades-in-arms who but yesterday, before Hitler's victory, called on the French masses to subordinate themselves to the traitorous bourgeois democratic government and to renounce their own rights and struggles in the interest of "national defense."

**Today in France, the main body of leaders of the French Social-Democracy publishes a paper, EFFORT, which wholeheartedly supports the Petain regime. More, EFFORT is published in Paris, in Nazi-occupied France. It is issued with the consent of the Nazi administration. It has made its peace directly with Hitler and calls for collaboration with him.**

Such is the true picture of this "new" regime. Hitler's handmaidens of today are the bourgeois democrats of yesterday.

That is why the American capitalist press and the bourgeois democrats who call on the American masses to fight for "democracy," persist in falsely calling these old French rulers a "new" regime.

To admit the truth would be to admit the depravity and corruption of that former French "democracy." To admit the truth would be to confess that bourgeois democracy is not the opposite of fascism, but paves the way for fascism in this epoch of capitalist decay.

The example of France is the greatest lesson yet given the working class of the world. Capitalist democracy cannot and will not destroy fascism. The seeds of fascism are nurtured directly within bourgeois democracy. Only by the working class taking power in every country and destroying capitalism will the menace of fascism be destroyed.

# OPM Spokesman Urges Longer Hours, Speed-up

Roosevelt's recent declaration that industrial production must be put upon a seven-day week, 24-hour a day basis has given the signal for an intensified campaign to lengthen the work week and eliminate overtime pay.

Using the President's declaration as a springboard, the National Association of Manufacturers has raised the cry for the elimination of the 40-hour week.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce has demanded that every worker be required to turn out 25 per cent more work.

Governor Lehman of New York has instructed the state labor law enforcement agencies to "ease up" on employers violating the maximum hours law.

The first direct intimation from Administration sources that this drive has at least the tacit approval of the Administration comes from W. L. Batt, deputy director of the Office of Production Management's Production Division, who, in a radio address May 15, projected the idea that workers must prepare to work longer hours and at a faster pace.

Batt, urging the necessity for speedier war production, said:

**"If this involves longer hours of civilian production, then that production must be curtailed, our standard of living to the contrary.**

**"If this involves curtailment and harder work, then that work must be endured, labor standards to the contrary."**

**THE MYTH OF "EQUAL SACRIFICE"**

To soften this blow at labor, Batt referred also to demands upon business, thus playing the tune of "equal sacrifice" in order to make the workers listen to his real theme. But what sacrifices would business make? Here is what Batt said on this point:

**"Even if this involves building factories for which there will be no practical use after the emergency, then these factories must be built—business fears to the contrary."**

The industrialists, however, are not investing one dime of their own for such new plants and equipment! All plant expansion for war purposes is being financed by the government, most of it by direct government outlays. In the other cases, the capitalists are permitted to amortize the cost of expansion through tax reductions. Either way it's a gift.

In reality, the Administration, speaking through Batt, as a trial balloon, is demanding sacrifices of the workers alone. The fundamental program of the Administration, which will be carefully developed, is to make the workers bear the full burden of the war.

The far-reaching threat to labor is scarcely veiled in Batt's words that the workers must submit to harsher conditions—"labor standards to the contrary."

**WHY DOESN'T FDR PUT UNEMPLOYED TO WORK?**

This drive is being undertaken in the face of the fact that there are still over nine million unemployed in this country. It is being pressed despite the Administration's own admission that there are some 20,000 industrial plants today which are operating under normal capacity.

What's holding back potential production is not that the workers aren't working long enough or hard enough. One of the main reasons why a tremendous portion of potential productive capacity remains unused is that over 85 per cent of the war orders have gone to a handful of big corporations, which haven't the capacity to produce the goods demanded, but which have the power to prevent the orders from being divided up among smaller plants. Greed for war profits is the real production bottleneck.

If Roosevelt really wanted maximum production, without regard for the interests of a grasping handful of corporation owners, he could ensure it easily.

All the government needs do is: **Expropriate the war industries and place them under the control and management of the workers.**

Remove the stranglehold of the war profiteers from industry, and the workers will be able to utilize all the productive facilities without suffering longer hours and unendurable speedup. The workers will be able to produce not merely sufficient war materials but an adequate supply of consumers' goods.

If the government does not take this absolutely essential step, that is tantamount to an admission that the government's war efforts have nothing in common with a genuine fight against fascism. The fact that the government places the interests and profits of a group of big capitalists above every other consideration is proof positive that this is a war for imperialism and not, as claimed, for the defense of democracy.

## Stalinists "Link" Hess To Trotsky

**(Continued from page 4)**

**December, 1935, and did not receive from him instructions of any kind; and that the disproof of Piatakov's testimony on this crucial point renders his whole confession worthless."**

**YES, THERE WAS A DEAL WITH HITLER**

Who conspired with Hess and the colleagues of Hess? Who made a deal with the Nazis? Who undermined the defense of the Soviet Union by destroying the confidence of the workers of the world in the Soviet Union through a mercenary deal with Hitler?

Stalin!

Who warned the workers of the world that such a deal was being made? Who, to the day of his death, called on the workers of the world to defend the Soviet Union desite the betrayals of Stalin?

Trotsky!

We can merely repeat that this belated resurrection of Piatakov's ghost is a reflection of political imbecility. We doubt if Stalin will be pleased at this reappearance of the Moscow Trial spirits he had hoped were permanently laid at rest.

# Where We Stand

### By Albert Goldman

### *Rudolf Hess Refutes Max Eastman*

As if to help refute the arguments of Max Eastman in his letter to the New York Times of May 11, Rudolf Hess decided to fly to England. In this letter Eastman takes up the cudgels against those who contend that for the sake of retaining democracy in this country it is best to stay out of the war even if England should lose because of the failure of the United States to enter the conflict. Norman Thomas is an example of the people against whom Eastman levels his arguments and it is not very difficult for Eastman to make a good case against the believers in the possibility of democracy in one country.

We would not interfere in this controversy were it not for the fact that Eastman also attempts to prove that the war is a struggle of tyranny against freedom. And it is in this connection that the flight of Hess can be adduced to refute Eastman. For no matter what theory one accepts as an explanation of the sensational flight one fact stands out: Hess came to England to meet an old friend, a man of wealth, a member of the English ruling class. He came to meet him and undoubtedly many others, whose company he had enjoyed prior to the war, for the purpose of discussing peace. He felt that the war had not destroyed that friendship; it had merely made it difficult to continue their common sports.

It can be taken for granted that Rudolf Hess has not suddenly been transformed into a democrat. Assuming that he had a disagreement with Hitler, it certainly was not centered around the question of democracy. If he has any intentions to discuss peace terms with his British friends it can also be taken for granted that no question of transforming Germany into a democracy is involved. Hess knows very well something that Eastman has chosen to forget: the British ruling class, the class that conducts the war and will make the peace, if it will ever get to that point, has absolutely no objection to the Nazis because of their theories about democracy.

### *What Eastman Does Not Prove*

How does Eastman try to prove that the war is a "struggle between democracy and tyranny . . . between two ways of life"? Simply by listing twenty one traits characteristic of totalitarianism. He shows that fascism destroys freedom and all intellectual life, is guilty of lying and hypocrisy, destroys the labor movement, etc. etc. All true enough.

But admitting that everything that Eastman says about fascism is true and assuming even that none of these traits can be found in the democratic capitalist countries, the question still remains: what have these characteristics of fascism to do with this war? Eastman fails to prove, he does not even attempt to prove, that on the part of England the war is being fought either to exterminate these characteristics of fascism or even to prevent them from crossing the channel.

By characterizing fascism, one does not prove that the motive force of the war is a struggle between tyranny and freedom. Assuming that the Germans all had bad table manners while the English were all veritable Chesterfields, that would not prove that the war is a crusade for good table manners.

Not once did any influential member of the British ruling class suggest that England declare war against Germany because the Nazis did not practice the precepts of political democracy. Eastman considers Winston Churchill the champion of democracy and refers to his speeches and to Hitler's Mein Kampf as examples of the deep contrast between the two ways of life.

### *Eastman Conceals the Crucial Facts*

But Eastman either does not know or does not care to reveal the well-known fact that Churchill placed himself on record as a great admirer of both Mussolini and Hitler. But that was prior to the war and Churchill did not have in mind that he would some day become the champion of democracy.

Why is it that Eastman also fails to mention the role the English ruling class played in helping Hitler consolidate his position in Germany? How is it that he also forgets the fact that neither Churchill nor Roosevelt rushed to defend the Spanish Loyalist government against attack by the fascists? In that struggle, by the way, the revolutionary Marxists were in favor of giving material support to the Spanish Loyalists because we recognized it to be a struggle between fascism and capitalist democracy and between the two we prefer the latter. That was a civil war between the forces of fascism and those of capitalist democracy and revolutionary realists are not indifferent to the outcome of such a war.

But where is there any proof that this war is being fought for capitalist democracy against fascism? Every bit of evidence proves conclusively that this is not a war on behalf of democracy. Does not the conduct of the British ruling class prior to the war prove it? Was the war by the anti-Semitic Polish ruling class also a war for democracy? Did the unlamented Metaxas, the tyrant and murderer of thousands of Greek workers also fight for democracy? And did Yugoslavia raise its banner on behalf of democracy?

It is of course impossible to say beforehand what the outcome of this war will be. But one thing is certain. If it continues for a long while without a definite decision and without the intervention of the proletariat, a negotiated peace will be arrived at. That negotiated peace will not have anything to do with democracy and freedom. It will have everything to do with colonies and spheres of influence.

For this is an imperialist war, a war, that is, where the motive force is the question of colonies and markets and raw materials. The political system of the rivals may differ but that is not what is involved.

It is absolutely essential for the working class and all those interested in progress to destroy fascism. But it cannot and will not be done by supporting this war fought for colonies and the right to exploit millions of colonial peoples.